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ABSTRACT

This report examines the literature on the status of Asian Pacific American (APA) women and is based on a review of research studies, campus climate and diversity reports, focus group and individual interviews representing a range of colleges and universities, and the author's own observations in academe over two decades. The report finds that APA women have demonstrated significant increases in bachelor's, master's, and first-professional degrees over the past decade but continue to lag behind male counterparts. The report also finds that APA women are underrepresented in many fields of study at all degree levels, in doctoral studies, as faculty, and at higher levels of academic administration; that many APA women find an inhospitable campus climate; that they are evaluated differently and lack a sense of community with their colleagues; and that APA professional staff cite invisibility and marginalization. The report notes that the "model minority" stereotype penalizes APA women by assuming they do not need academic or professional guidance and support, and that class and cultural biases reinforce APA women as "outsiders" in academe. Part 1 of this report presents an "Overview of Asian Pacific Americans"; Part 2 considers "Stereotypes, Biases, and Obstacles; and Part 3 focuses on "Asian Pacific American Women and the Academy." (Contains 27 references.) (DB)

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ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION:

CLAIMING VISIBILITY & VOICE

SHIRLEY HUNE

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The Program on the Status and Education of Women (PSEW)

The Program on the Status and Education of Women (PSEW) at the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) has offered national leadership on women in higher education for more than a quarter of century. It is one of only two women's offices whose work is sponsored by a higher education office. Initiated and led for its first two decades by Dr. Bernice Sandler, PSEW distinguished itself by tracking new federal legislation, especially Title IX and Title VII, and analyzing its impact on higher education. It also produced a series of practical campus-based papers, coining the phrase "chilly climate" as a valuable way to understand the educational environment experienced by many women students, faculty, administrators, and staff.

Under the leadership of its second director, Dr. Caryn McTighe Musil, PSEW currently concentrates on three primary areas: improving the curriculum and campus climate to enhance learning about and for women; promoting women's leadership capacities and opportunities; and disseminating information about new research on women and gender. PSEW thus has sponsored publications on women's studies and student learning, the climate for women in academic science, and the current National Science Foundation curriculum project, "Women and Scientific Literacy: Building Two-Way Streets," between science departments and women's studies programs.

For more than two decades, PSEW has also published a quarterly newsletter, *On Campus with Women* (consult AAC&U website for details, <http://www.aacu-edu.org>). OCWW informs readers about innovative programming, new scholarship, the latest data on women in higher education, and resources for the campus and classroom. In 1996, PSEW launched its listserv, PSEWLEAD, designed for women administrators in the academy.

Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education: Claiming Visibility and Voice by Shirley Hune is the third in an important PSEW series on women of color in the academy. Hune's monograph is preceded by *Black Women in Academe* (1989) by Yolanda T. Moses and *Hispanic Women* (1991) by Sarah Nieves-Squires. All three publications were made possible by a grant from Alison Bernstein of the Ford Foundation. Now the Foundation's vice-president of the Education, Media, Arts and Culture Programs, Bernstein has exerted consistent and visionary leadership over the years. She has called on higher education's best traditions of scholarly inquiry, expanding access, and engagement with solving societal problems. She has been an influential voice in persuading others that women and an analysis of gender must be at the center of all three concerns.

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Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education: Claiming Visibility and Voice

"...I feel that minority women encounter a very particular reality, and this reality too often goes unacknowledged or is subject to simplification and appropriation....[We] are protected within this institution from the harsher socio-economic realities...[but] have to cope with forms of *alienation* that are not normally experienced by the rest of the...[university] population....I face a cultural *invisibility* as an Indonesian American woman, and by my racial identity as an Asian American woman....Because minority issues fall outside the realm of the mainstream white community, it is incumbent upon minorities to draw attention to these issues. But minorities expose these issues to the rest of the...[campus] community at great personal risk and thus often remain *silent*." (Emphasis added.)

Introduction

American citizens and residents who trace their ancestry to the Asian continent, subcontinent, and islands within the Pacific Rim, and who include indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, are one of the fastest growing and most diverse racial populations in the United States. Nearly 40 different groups were reported in the 1990 U.S. census. A listing of the largest groups is provided in the table on page 8. Collectively, these groups are often classified under a single umbrella category, most commonly as *Asian American*, *Asian or Pacific Islander*—the U.S. census designation—or *Asian Pacific American* (see sidebar, pages 14-15). *Asian American* is found most often in research literature, while *Asian Pacific American* (APA) recognizes more accurately the new diversity among Asian and Pacific immigrant and refugee groups that has occurred since 1965. These terms are used as synonymous in this report. The increase in the Asian Pacific American population over the past three decades has contributed to their growth in numbers in colleges and universities. However, little is known of the complexities faced by APAs in higher education, especially the status, experiences, and issues of APA women on American campuses.

While Asian Pacific American women are physically visible both as females and as racial minorities in academic institutions, at the same time, they are also rendered *invisible* in academe. They have gained attention with Asian Pacific American men as an educationally successful "model minority," a claim most APAs dispute, but are notably absent from the research literature, for example. Studies on minorities frequently subsume gender under racial categories treating women and men alike and minimizing the distinct experiences of women of color. Similarly, gender research may

neglect important differences among women. To gain the most complete picture, one must include both an analysis of race and gender as well as other distinctions, such as ethnicity and class.

Asian Pacific American women also go unnoticed when their concerns as students, faculty, staff,² and administrators are disregarded by educators because APAs are seen as marginal to the central core of higher education. They share issues faced by APA males, but also confront difficulties encountered by women in academe, especially African American, Hispanic, and American Indian women. As women of color, they are double and triple *outsiders* in academic institutions that remain culturally masculine and European, governed by middle class, and sometimes upper class, norms and values.³ Given their small numbers, APA women have yet to change the mainstream culture and are seen as *strangers* in the academy.⁴ In campus climate studies, scholarly publications, and interviews conducted by the author, APA women expressed how they are frequently ignored, feel unwelcome in higher education, lack a sense of belonging, and are silenced by the academic culture. They experience a "chilly climate"⁵ in the academy and encounter barriers in the academic pipeline.

The purpose of this report is to highlight Asian Pacific American women in academe, to reveal the obstacles they encounter as students, faculty, staff, and administrators, and to provide recommendations to academic institutions to eliminate APA women's inequities in higher education at all levels. Much of what is presented in this study pertains to APA men as well. This volume is the third in a series of monographs on women of color in the academy published by the Program on the Status and Education of Women (PSEW) at the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U). The first monograph, *Black Women in Academe: Issues and Strategies*, by Yolanda T. Moses, was published in 1989 and reissued in 1997, and the second, *Hispanic Women: Making Their Presence on Campus Less Tenuous*, by Sarah Nieves-Squires, in 1991.

This report draws from research on women in higher education and on APAs and other minorities, as well as on other previous PSEW publications and the memoirs and autobiographies of APA women. It is also based on the author's observations as a participant in the academy and on consultations with APA women over two decades. The study benefits as well from the voices and insights of APA women from focus group and individual interviews conducted by the author over the past year. Although interviewees represent a variety of post-secondary institutions across the nation, they are not representative of all Asian Pacific Americans. Those

who participated tended to have an interest in Asian American issues and minority group concerns. Nevertheless, the data confirms and extends findings in research studies and in diversity and campus climate reports pertaining to Asian Pacific Americans.⁶

The monograph focuses on U.S.-born and foreign-born women of Asian and Pacific Islander descent who are U.S. citizens and residents and excludes international students or visiting faculty from Asia or the Pacific Rim. Highlighted are the *everyday inequities*—the stereotypes, small behaviors, and informal practices—that APA women experience on American campuses.⁷ In an era when legal discrimination has been eliminated theoretically and overt biases disreputed, Asian Pacific American women still encounter subtle forms of racial, gender, class, and cultural bias that limit their academic, personal, and professional development.

The study is presented in three parts. Part I, "An Overview of Asian Pacific Americans," briefly outlines the composition of the APA population and the significance of race and family and community influences on the education of APA women. Part II, "Stereotypes, Biases, and Obstacles," is an analysis of broad societal forces that shape APA women's experiences and serve as barriers. It examines the forms these forces take in the academy, the role of race, gender, class, and culture in higher education, and the ways in which specific stereotypes and biases impede APA women's advancement in academe. Part III, "Asian Pacific American Women and the Academy," focuses on academic institutions themselves as a community for APA women. It includes a profile of APA women in the academic pipeline, assesses their overall campus climate, and considers their unequal treatment in specific situations, such as the classroom, curriculum, advisement and mentoring, and other areas. In some cases, discussions in one part could just as easily be explored in another part or section of the monograph because societal and institutional factors intersect and overlap. In the real lives of Asian Pacific Americans there are no clear distinctions.

Recommendations to address the concerns of Asian Pacific American women and to improve academic practices are provided at various points in this report. Not all are readily applicable to every college and university at all times, but institutions could modify and adapt them to fit their own circumstances. While the recommendations focus on altering policies and practices to alleviate inequalities faced by Asian Pacific American women specifically, they also address the concerns of Asian Pacific American men and other women in academe, and seek to support colleges and universities in providing a climate of access, equity, and inclusion for all.

Part I: An Overview of Asian Pacific Americans

Who are Asian Pacific Americans?

Any study of Asian Pacific American women must be viewed within the general history of APAs in the United States. Asian Pacific Americans are a complex and diverse population of the American-born, indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and newcomers from Asia. Two large-scale waves of immigration from Asia and the Pacific Rim account for the majority of Asian settlement in America. The first wave, from the 1840s until the 1930s, consisted largely of Chinese and Japanese laborers recruited to develop the American West and Hawaii. They were followed by smaller groups of Filipinos, Koreans, and Asian Indians.⁸

The second wave began when the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act eliminated discriminatory national origin quotas that had previously restricted Asian immigration. Immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Rim formed new American communities of Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Asian Indians along with smaller communities of other nationalities. The Act also adopted a visa allocation system based on preferences, including a family reunification preference, which helped APAs bring family members to America. A preference aimed at professionals brought large numbers of Asian Pacific American nurses, physicians, engineers, and scientists to the U.S., while a preference assigned to unskilled workers helped some APAs fill jobs other Americans had rejected in the garment industry and service sector. In addition, more than one million Southeast Asians—Vietnamese, Cambodians (also known as Khmers), Hmong, and Laotians—arrived in the U.S. between 1975 and 1990 under various acts designed to resettle refugees displaced from war-torn countries. These post-1965 demographic changes are the primary factor in the dramatic growth of the APA population from 877,934 in 1960 to 9.6 million in 1996 or 3.6 percent of the total U.S. population.⁹

Included in the APA classification are Pacific Islanders, who were five percent of all APAs in 1990, and whose three largest groups are native Hawaiians, American Samoans, and Guamanians.¹⁰ They differ in language and culture from one another, but share a colonial and neo-colonial relationship with the U.S. dating from 1897.¹¹ Recently, more native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have been drawn to the continental U.S. for education and employment.

The current majority of Asian Pacific Americans are newcomers in immigrant and refugee households. The 1990 U.S. census revealed that 63.1 percent of all APAs were born in a country other than the U.S., far

more than for Hispanics (36 percent) and whites (3.3 percent). Members of these APA households have limited English skills, which has implications for their educational attainment and career choices. In contrast, APAs also include those who are American-born, some whose families have been in the U.S. for several generations and for whom English is their only language. Their adjustment to campus life is generally different from newcomer APAs.

To summarize the Asian Pacific American population today, it is very diverse in language, culture, social organizations, residential pattern, religion, income, education, occupation, and location in U.S. history. For example, although the APA educational attainment level is generally high, in 1994 in western states where the APA population is highest, nearly 10 percent of all APAs had an eighth grade education or less. This is more than three times the rate for whites in the region. In 1990, college enrollment for those ages 18 to 24 years varied widely across APA ethnic groups, from 66.5 percent for Chinese Americans to 26.3 percent for Laotian Americans. Those most at-risk educationally are Pacific Islanders and Southeast Asians.

Economic well-being also differs among APAs. In 1990, the average poverty rate for Asian Pacific Americans was 14.1 percent, but this ranged from 63.6 percent for Hmong Americans to 7.0 percent for Japanese Americans. Occupational concentrations showed, for example, that Asian Indians comprised 43.6 percent of all APAs in managerial and professional positions and Laotians a mere 5.0 percent. APA women also trail their male counterparts when it comes to education beyond the B.A. level, higher education employment as faculty and administrators, and income levels.¹²

Disaggregating data on Asian Pacific Americans over time reveals a heterogeneous, fluid, and evolving group. Their *complexity and diversity* is reflected in academic institutions and contests the notion of APAs as a homogeneous population and a racial "success story" that has overcome discrimination and resolved educational and economic concerns.

Recommendations

■ *Understand the diversity and complexity of the Asian Pacific American population in U.S. society and on campus. Use aggregate and disaggregate data by ethnic groups within the APA population and by gender to better inform campus programs and policies.*

■ *Provide a variety of settings, both curricular and co-curricular, as well as in-service training, to deepen the*

general knowledge on campus about the rich and complex history of Asian Pacific Americans.

■ *Through campus/community partnerships, connect with local APA communities to enhance campus knowledge of APAs.*

Race Matters

"In growing up, my parents always said that being an Asian American would be a real disadvantage. To survive and get respect, we had to get an education." (second-generation¹³ Korean American undergraduate)¹⁴

"Although my father is bitter about his past [the U.S. war in Southeast Asia changed his life], he is optimistic about his future in the United States.... We were always told that we had to do better than our classmates because of our skin color. Being yellow and Vietnamese is bad enough without lacking the knowledge and education that one needs to survive and succeed in a white society."¹⁵

"To survive and get respect, we had to get an education."

Racism has been and continues to be a defining feature in the lives of Asian Pacific American women and men. For almost a century, APAs were declared "aliens" because of

their race and had minimal civil and political rights. From the 1840s to World War II, APAs experienced racial discrimination in limited employment opportunities, low wages, segregated schools and housing, and anti-Asian immigration laws. The internment of persons of Japanese descent during World War II, two-thirds of whom were American-born and therefore citizens, was not an aberration but a culmination of anti-Asian hostility. Not until 1943 did the U.S. government allow Chinese Americans to obtain citizenship through naturalization. Other Asian Pacific American groups soon followed.¹⁶

Racial discrimination affects the education of Asian Pacific Americans and influences their attitudes toward education as well. For most of their history in the U.S., APAs have had a negative image as an unassimilable, inferior, and dangerous group—the "yellow peril." Over the past 25 years, that popular image has been replaced by one of a racial "success story," socially constructed largely through the media. In news magazine and television profiles, the achievements of a few exemplary Asian Pacific American students—"whiz kids"—are generalized to the entire population. In presenting APAs as having overcome discrimination and other obstacles, they are acclaimed a "model minority" for other racial and ethnic groups to emulate.¹⁷

Although the media generally offer a cultural explanation of family support and Confucian values for the

high APA participation rate in education, it is not supported adequately in empirical studies. Not all Asian Pacific Americans are raised in Confucian households. Many are Buddhist, Catholic, or Hindu, or hold other value systems. Furthermore, values attributed to APAs, such as a respect for education, are held by non-Asian groups as well. It is also difficult to correlate educational achievement with specific values. Most importantly for Asian Pacific Americans, the "model minority" image inaccurately portrays their real lives and ignores wide differences in educational attainment, income, and occupations well documented in research.¹⁸ Some of these findings were presented in the previous section.

The increased presence of APAs in academic institutions is real, but APA researchers, in particular, give attention to *structural* rather than cultural factors in explaining this trend. They find APAs invest in education as a means of social mobility. Most are hopeful that college credentials will provide some protection against racial discrimination. This belief leads APA parents to make personal sacrifices for their children's schooling and APA students to spend more time studying than their peers. In addition, other routes to economic mobility, such as sports, politics, and entertainment, have not been widely available to APAs. Many parents, especially the immigrant generation, also encourage daughters and sons to seek occupations that are both economically secure and likely to be resistant to racial discrimination because of their societal benefit, such as accounting, business, and medicine.¹⁹ Unlike their "model minority" image, not all Asian Pacific Americans attain their educational and career goals, become successful, and find protection from racism.

U.S. society entered a new era of race relations following the Civil Rights movement and the elimination of legal discrimination. Nevertheless, well into the 1990s, Asian Pacific Americans encountered hate crimes, civil rights violations, racial discrimination in employment, housing, higher education admissions, police-community relations, and other areas. They have also faced anti-immigrant legislation and anti-Asian activities as many Americans blame immigrants and "unfair competitors" in Asia for unemployment problems in the United States.²⁰ Aggravated assaults against APAs have also increased recently.²¹ While many Americans have dismissed racism as an issue for Asian Pacific Americans in the 1990s, reality says otherwise. In society at large and in academe, race matters for APAs even today, and Asian Pacific American women face both racial and sex discrimination.

Many Asian Pacific Americans view education as race neutral and as their chance for a better life. They are surprised to encounter racism and xenophobia in col-

leges and universities. Asian Pacific Americans, including the U.S.-born, are often regarded as permanent foreigners and objects of fear and distrust.²² The following comment by an undergraduate articulates a commonplace experience for APAs.

"People ask you, 'Where are you from?' They mean in Asia—not America. Sometimes they actually ask, 'When are you going back?' Even though you've spent your entire life in America."²³

Asian Pacific Americans are often subjected to racial epithets, anti-Asian graffiti, ethnic jokes, and malicious mispronunciations of their names in colleges and universities.²⁴ The following examples illustrate some typical racial incidents on American campuses in recent years. In 1995, Asian Pacific American along with African American and Latina/o law students at the University of California, Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law received an anonymous letter in their mailboxes stating, "It bugs the hell out of me because [you] are taking the seat of someone qualified."²⁵ From an apartment window white male students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign harassed three Asian Indian American female students in a parking lot in October 1996. They called out racial slurs, demanded that the women go back "to their [expletive] country" and threw a large glass bottle at them.²⁶

Racial harassment via e-mail threats has also increased. In September 1996, on the University of California, Irvine campus, where APAs are nearly half the undergraduates, a former male student was accused of sending an e-mail message to 60 APA students and staff threatening to "hunt...down and kill" Asians. At Indiana University in Bloomington in January 1997, 700 members of the Asian Students Association received hate e-mail filled with obscenities and racial epithets and ordering students to leave the country before they are deported. This e-mail was also forwarded to other distribution lists.²⁷

Such overt anti-Asian activities on campuses suggest that the increased presence of Asian Pacific Americans in higher education is perceived by some as a threat rather than an asset and a reflection of a multiracial society. More often racial bias is subtle, part of the campus climate, and hidden in classrooms, advisement, the curriculum, and other academic sites, as are gender, class, and cultural biases.

Recommendations

- Understand the role of racial discrimination in the daily lives of Asian Pacific Americans and adopt policies and practices to ensure access and equity for all APAs in higher education, with attention to their

underrepresented ethnic groups, women, and those at-risk educationally.

■ *Establish, publicize, and enforce campus policies against racial harassment.*

■ *Recognize anti-Asian activities on campus as racial harassment and provide immediate and appropriate responses.*

■ *Provide campus support to Asian Pacific Americans who experience anti-Asian racial incidents.*

APA Families and Women's Education

Families' aspirations and resources influence the education and career choices of Asian Pacific American women. Their strategy of dealing with racial discrimination through education benefits females and males of all social classes. A group of female students provide evidence for what positive influences some APA families can exert. Among those interviewed, the typical comment was, "I always knew that I was going to college, it was just a matter of *which* college." Many families also support women pursuing advanced studies, some quite enthusiastically. One Filipina American student explained, "My mother said, 'Never mind the men, get your education, and go as far as you can go.' When I told her about graduate school, she said, 'Great!'"

Some interviewees note the important role of women in their households as academic supports. Although their own educational dreams had been curtailed by their family's class background or because their brothers' schooling had taken precedence over their own, mothers, aunts, and grandmothers were influential in encouraging younger women's pursuit of higher education. Yet other APA women observed that male privilege persists. While parents are eager for both daughters and sons to attend college, males tend to receive a larger share of family resources in support of higher education irrespective of whether or not they are the most motivated and academically qualified family member.

APA family encouragement is also a double-edged sword. Many students face unrealistic parental demands, such as expectations of straight "A" grades, getting into medical school, and, for newcomer students, gaining English proficiency quickly to help the family improve their economic status. Falling short of these demands and feeling societal pressures to be a "model minority," many students become resentful of schooling, unhappy with their lack of choices, and feel estranged from their

parents. Some drop out, perform poorly in academic studies, or have personal problems.²⁸

A family's class and cultural ties also affect the education of APA women. Although men worldwide have dominated the public sphere and women's proper place has been seen as the home, the lives of women of color in the U.S. challenge this notion. Historically, racial discrimination has limited APA male employment opportunities requiring most APA women to work outside the home to help support their families, sometimes as unpaid workers in small family businesses.²⁹ For APA women, reality is playing several roles in addition to being wives, mothers, and caretakers. Thus young APA women, especially newcomers and those from low income households, are often encouraged by their families to acquire a college education, not necessarily for its own sake or for personal development, but because it

will help them obtain a better paying job to aid the family.³⁰ Some refugee families who lack financial resources can provide other supports—close ties to family, church, and community—to focus the attention of youth on schooling and work and away from teen subculture.³¹

Asian Pacific American families can also send mixed messages about proper roles for women. APA communities themselves, especially the immigrant generation, sometimes create their own cultural barriers to women pursuing higher degrees.

When adapting to U.S. society, recent immigrants and refugees experience stress, which includes trying to preserve traditions while adjusting to a new status as a racial minority. Fearful of losing their children to American culture, newcomer APA parents often reinforce traditional gender roles in their households and curtail their children's educational experimentation, while supporting schooling at the same time. Studies on first-generation Cambodian, Hmong, and Punjabi Americans, for example, find these communities encourage women's education but also convey the belief that too much education may not be a good thing. It could make a woman too independent, leading her away from traditional roles, and to delay or even forego marriage, all of which are valued. It could also restrict her marriage opportunities by eliminating less educated males as potential husbands.³² Some Hmong American women also find their educational goals restricted as their community favors arranged marriages for teenage girls and early motherhood.³³ In some cases, the dependence of working-class families

**"My mother said,
'Never mind the men,
get your education, and
go as far as you can
go!' When I told her
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on daughters to help with household responsibilities and child care contributes to APA women being less prepared academically for college or having to abandon college or studies beyond the B.A. degree to work to support the family.³⁴

Class and cultural barriers collude as parents with limited knowledge of college curriculum and job opportunities outside their own circles circumscribe APA women's interests and ambitions. As one second-generation Korean American stated, "I was really interested in majoring in folklore, but my parents said they would not pay for something they don't understand and therefore won't approve. I'm now a history major and I think they are okay with it." In contrast, American-born, middle-class APA students, especially those many generations in the U.S., have greater freedom in their educational choices generally than immigrant and working-class students.³⁵ They also find less distinction between family supports for women and men in education.

A more detailed analysis of APA home culture and education is outside the scope of this monograph. Like women elsewhere, APA women have yet to gain full equity in their communities, but their socialization in the

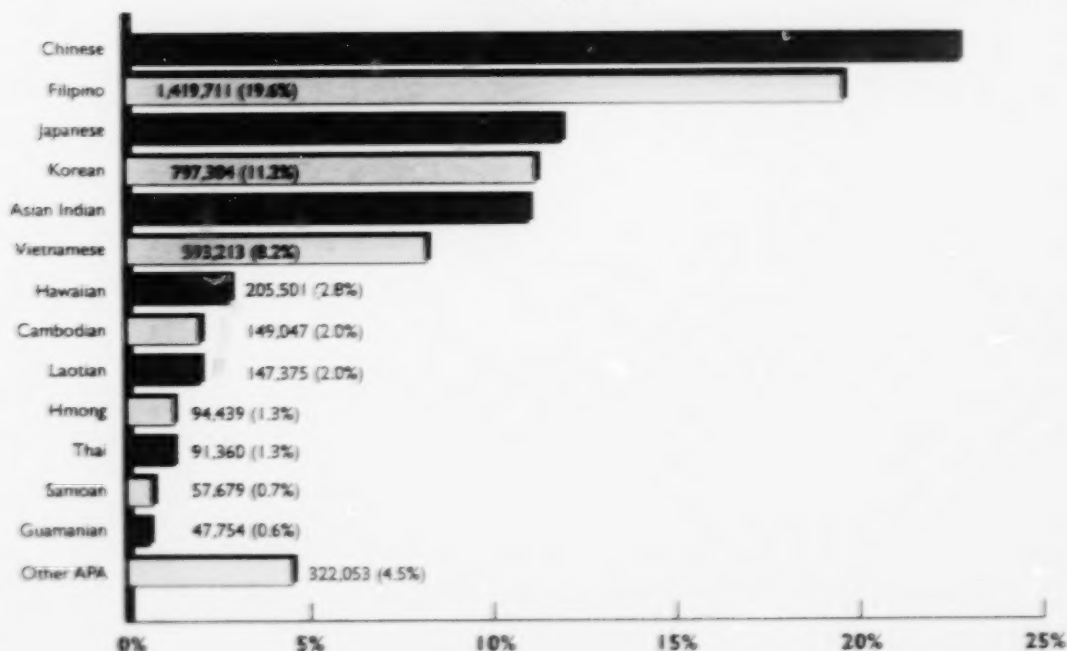
family often enables them to be academic strivers, a trait usually associated with men, while also respectful of traditional female roles.³⁶ Moreover, although APA households share similarities in their attitudes toward education, wide differences exist in the support of women's education. In the intersection of race, gender, class, and culture in their families and communities, APA women find both educational opportunities and barriers.

Recommendations

- *Understand the variety of APA home cultures and communities to enhance support for students and their families in making educational choices and following through successfully.*
- *Recognize that all APA women are not the same; different APA groups have different points of entry into higher education: a Cambodian-born Khmer American is likely to have a higher level of need than, for example, a third- or fourth-generation Chinese American. Work toward providing policies that reflect and satisfy this variety.*
- *Through campus/community partnerships help APA communities, especially newcomer parents, better understand American education and career opportunities.*

Asian Pacific Americans by Selected Ethnic Groups, 1990

All APAs (7,226,986)



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of the Population, Social and Economic Characteristics (CP-2-1), 1993

- Develop K-12/campus partnerships to strengthen and support APA women in the academic pipeline to higher education.
- Provide all APA college students and newcomer, working-class, and first-generation students, in particular, with the information, academic guidance, personal counseling and other institutional supports necessary to ensure their full and active participation in academe.

Part II: Stereotypes, Biases, and Obstacles

Broad societal influences shape the lives of Asian Pacific American women in the United States. Oftentimes, APA women are not seen as individuals, but in the context of stereotypes and biases. This section analyzes how stereotypes and the convergence of race, gender, class, and cultural biases in American society are reproduced in academic institutions and contribute to APA women's unequal treatment in colleges and universities.

The Harm of the "Model Minority" Stereotype

*"The ['model minority'] stereotype has been used as an ideological tool to assign blame for social, political, and economic problems, and to deflect attention from real issues.... a positive stereotype is all too easily transformed into a negative one. Quiet becomes inscrutable. Hard-working becomes narrowly ambitious. Practical becomes opportunistic and successful becomes dominant.... 'Model minority' takes on new meaning, separating Asian Americans from other ethnic groups.... [It also] prevents policy and decision makers [from recognizing] the many and wide-ranging needs of Asian Americans."*³⁷

The most vexing issue for Asian Pacific American women and men currently is the power of the "model minority" image to frame how they are treated in American society. The stereotype implies that all APAs are achievers who have overcome racism through hard work, and therefore do not suffer discrimination in education and employment. Its unquestioned acceptance by educators as an accurate representation of Asian Pacific Americans contributes to their neglect in higher education. School drop-outs, students in academic need, and the struggles of APAs for economic security go unnoticed. Furthermore, although the academic attainment of many APAs is real, even high achieving APA women encounter obstacles amidst an unsupportive climate in colleges and universities.

The "model minority" stereotype is habitually reinforced in academic institutions in curricular and co-curricular activities for students, and in the workplace for faculty, staff, and administrators. The stereotype

helps APAs on occasion when as some female student interviewees noted, "Teachers think we're working hard, when we're not." However, most Asian Pacific Americans believe that the image hurts them. It heightens racial antagonism and contributes to anti-Asian incidents.³⁸ APAs also can fall victim to the image as one undergraduate explains,

*"It's little things.... you hear people say, 'Oh I don't want to take that class—there's [sic] so many Asian people in it. The curve is going to be too high.' It's really scary, you find yourself falling into the same thing too. And you start thinking like that...."*³⁹

Being seen as a "model minority" is harmful on a personal level when APA students feel pressured to conform to it. Many students suffer from "achievement stress" dealing with the expectations of family and academic institutions.⁴⁰ Some take subjects in which they have little interest, and, by doing so, affect their career choices over a lifetime. Those who fail to measure up to the image may drop out. Others internalize racism and racial stereotypes and are often embarrassed and ashamed of being Asian. They may distance themselves from other APAs rather than to be identified with such a "nerdy" and "uncool" image.⁴¹

The stereotype also influences faculty-student as well as student-student relations.⁴² Faculty and academic advisors often channel APA women into fields of study identified with the "model minority" in the belief that APAs are particularly suited to them, thus narrowing their horizons. A Cambodian American undergraduate from a working-class family, advised by a counselor to take math because Asian students are good in math, grew depressed and feared she would never graduate after failing her first math class. Fortunately, she found her own interests by taking Asian American studies courses and graduated with honors in sociology and women's studies as a double major.⁴³ More often, APA students are simply neglected on the presumption they are not in need of academic assistance or guidance. Those at-risk academically and deficient in English language skills suffer the most.

APA faculty also feel harmed by the "model minority" stereotype when institutions believe Asian Pacific Americans are "overrepresented" in academe and do not feel the need to recruit them. Consequently, they are overlooked as a minority group, especially in fields of study where they are genuinely underrepresented, such as the arts, humanities, and social sciences, and for leadership and membership on important committees and task forces where APA representation could benefit the institution and aid individual development.

Asian Pacific American professional staff, on the other hand, find that being viewed as hard-working and highly competent both brings resentment and allows others to take advantage of them. The following comment summarizes these concerns. "There seems to be raised expectations of Asian performance, yet this is accompanied by the fear of...too many Asians."⁴⁴ Thus many staff feel they are assigned more work and are expected to do it without complaint or promotion. Attention to the "model minority" stereotype as a bias is critical to establishing a supportive academic climate for APA women and men.

The "Exotic" or "Passive" Asian and Other Harmful Stereotypes

*"There are many stereotypes of Asian and Pacific American women... 'Exotic/erotic' was fabricated by white American men whose political, economic, and military presence in Asian and Pacific lands dates back to the turn of the century [and views] Pan Asian women as young, foreign, sexual commodities... [The] 'passive/demure' [stereotype finds] APA women as] distant, reserved and submissive girlfriends, housewives and mothers... Related to, but distinct from [it] is the stereotype of 'neuter gender'—[for employed APA women], particularly the mid-level class of technicians, administrative assistants and scientists. [It] turns Pan Asian women as rational beings to the exclusion of sexuality. These women are viewed as competent aids and tools, without faces and personalities... [The] 'dragon lady' label is reserved only for Pan Asian women deemed almost equal to men. [She] is assertive, articulate, calculating, and effective. She is both admired and feared for her sexuality and rational being."*⁴⁵

Asian Pacific American women struggle daily in society against gender stereotypes that converge with racial stereotypes. These images so succinctly described in the quotation above are found in academe as well.

The "exotic/erotic" image of APA females personified by the China doll, geisha, Polynesian dancer, or "Miss Saigon" in film, theater, and advertisements is a powerful one in American popular culture. The "orientalization" of APA women as quiet, sweet, and obliging to men mirrors the West's rationalization and justification of its historic efforts to dominate Asia.⁴⁶ By presenting APA women as exotic and permanent outsiders, they become targets of unwanted advances and sexual exploitation.⁴⁷

Some Asian Pacific American female students consciously oppose this sexualized stereotype in their campus social lives. In interviews, they expressed such comments as, "I stay away from guys who have an 'Asian

fetish'" or "I don't want to be a Western male fantasy." More importantly, this "exotic" stereotype influences the education and employment of APA women when their achievements are disregarded and they are seen as potential dates or sexual objects rather than as academics and professionals. These behaviors contribute to a chilly campus climate.

Asian Pacific American women also express discomfort with the "passive/demure" stereotype and find it frequently contradicts their own experiences. One Vietnamese American undergraduate noted, "I think of Asian women as being strong, even mean. I had to learn that Asian women in America are suppose to be docile." Within their families, in their own social situations, and in classes where they are comfortable and supported, APA female students can be very animated and interactive. They report they are often made to feel unwelcome in classrooms, in relations with classmates and faculty, and therefore, may keep silent and appear passive.

APA female professional staff find that being proficient often leads to their becoming invisible—faceless—to their colleagues and superiors like the "neuter gender" stereotype. They express irritation at being taken for granted for their hard work and for being overlooked for advancement.⁴⁸

APA female faculty, staff, and administrators also find that students and colleagues do not know how to relate to them and can be critical of competent and decisive APA women. Not fitting the "passive/demure" stereotype is a mixed blessing. Being assertive is not always welcomed and may be detrimental to their professional advancement as noted by two interviewees below.

"I know I was called the 'Dragon Lady' by students because I was tough. But I won't let students get by without doing the work." (Japanese American faculty)

"I've had to fight back to get what I want for my program and what I believe my program needs to operate... I've been told I'm so outspoken for an Asian American woman. They would never have said that to another person. I've probably not been promoted [internally] because I'm seen as tough. But in my new position [at another institution], I believe I am respected for standing up for myself... When I was younger, and I looked younger, it was more difficult, and I probably overcompensated by being tougher... But I also had to be tough, as I probably wouldn't be a Dean now." (APA administrator)

Many Asian Pacific American women feel that being assertive is the only way to gain respect for their concerns. They oppose their positive actions to support access and equity in higher education being used to pro-

mote a negative connotation of another stereotype of APA women—the “dragon lady.” To achieve a more equitable and supportive academic climate, APA women need to be treated as individuals and not as stereotypes.

Recommendations

- Acknowledge the “model minority” as an APA stereotype that erases distinctions within the population and remedy policies and practices based on it that harm the academic, personal, and professional development of APA women, and APA men as well.
- Recognize the “exotic,” “passive/ demure,” and other APA stereotypes that discount the academic and professional goals of APA women and erase their distinctions.
- Monitor encounters APA women at all levels have with harmful stereotypes and correct policies and practices based on stereotypes that limit the access and opportunities of APA females and hinder their academic, personal, and professional development.
- Provide a variety of forums, both curricular and co-curricular and in-service training, to teach the campus community about the historic racial and sexual discrimination against Asian Pacific Americans.
- Across the curriculum, include work by and about Asians and Asian Pacific Americans that more fully and accurately reflects their experience.

Racialized Sexual Harassment

White women and women of color experience discrimination differently in U.S. society. In the convergence of sexual and racial stereotypes and sex and race discrimination, women of color are especially vulnerable and are often viewed as both subordinate workers and sexual objects.⁶⁰ Sumi Cho uses the term “racialized sexual harassment” to define the injuries that APA women and other women of color experience in the workplace.⁶¹

APA women encounter racialized sexual harassment in the form of verbal remarks, unwanted pressures for dates, and deliberate encounters from peers and persons in authoritative positions. They are also seen as less likely to complain about harassment than other women.⁶² This phenomenon also occurs in academe.

“It wasn’t until my third institution and I was hit upon again by a white male colleague that I realized there was a pattern here. I mean, he’s married, and he’s making excuses to come to my office, and he’s asking me out.... We’re [APA women] seen as easy prey.”
(Asian American faculty)

The most egregious violations are in faculty-student and faculty-faculty relations where male faculty can exploit their positions of power. There are male professors who target APA female students explicitly for sexual relations. There are tenure struggles of accomplished APA female faculty where the confidentiality of the tenure review process and predominantly male review committees have become a shield for sexism and racism and sexual and racial harassment.⁶³ Professor Rosalie Tung, who filed a grievance alleging race, sex, and national origin (anti-Chinese) discrimination after being turned down for tenure at the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School of Business, surmised that institutional resistance to her case, which involved racialized sexual harassment, was due in part to race and gender stereotypes.

“[University administrators] felt that I being an Asian would be less likely to challenge the establishment—it was okay to discriminate against Asians, because they are passive; they take things quietly, and they will not fight back.”⁶⁴

APA women need to be treated as individuals and not as stereotypes.

Professor Tung and other APA women have not been quiet and have fought back, oftentimes for several years before gaining tenure. Her case resulted in a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that has encouraged a more open, impartial, and consistent review process benefiting all academics, but the cost to personal lives and professional careers is high.⁶⁵ Many more APA women leave their institutions or academia altogether, unwilling or unable to challenge the legal and financial resources of colleges and universities in prolonged tenure battles, contributing to a revolving door for women of color.

At the intersection of race and gender stereotyping, APA women often cannot tell which is operating more strongly. As one APA administrator stated when asked if she experienced any barriers: “The answer is yes. I think for me personally, it’s hard to know if it’s because I’m a woman, or because I’m Asian, or both.”⁶⁶

Recommendations

- Have firm policies and grievance procedures that address sexual harassment and racial harassment and ensure their dissemination and implementation on campus.
- Provide appropriate counseling and legal advisement services for APA women who may experience racialized sexual harassment.

Biases in Intergroup and Intragroup Relations

"Asian Americans feel like orphans. The majority says 'You are not us.' Minorities say 'You are not us.' Our interests are ignored whenever convenient."⁵⁶

Recent demographic changes have made intergroup and intragroup relations in the U.S. more multiracial and multiethnic. This complexity has yet to be fully addressed in public life or in the academy, however. In majority-minority and in minority-minority group relations, APAs are frequently omitted. In intragroup relations within the APA population as well, not all APA groups are treated equally. APA women and men encounter these biases both off and on campus.

The defining intergroup relationship in America is the black/white paradigm, which dominates racial discourse and politics in the United States. Asian Pacific Americans are neither black nor white and find the primacy of a black/white racial framework marginalizes them in the public sphere, whether it be housing, job training programs, or their representation on television. This bias is reproduced in higher education where institutional policies and programs viewed through a black/white lens leave APAs out of the curriculum, faculty recruitment, advisement and mentoring, and other areas of campus life. Consequently, Asian Pacific Americans are often considered ineligible for programs available to other minority groups, rendering their concerns invisible, much to their own detriment. Institutions need to adopt practices that address the critical situation of African Americans in higher education while also being more inclusive of Asian Pacific Americans and other marginalized groups.⁵⁷

Minority-minority group relations are also significant. In their public lives, Asian Pacific Americans are involved in a wide range of minority group interactions. Some of these relations have been tension-ridden, such as those of African Americans and Koreans in their customer-shopkeeper relations. Others are collaborative as in Asian Americans and Latinos working together to oppose anti-immigration laws.⁵⁸

On campus, minority intergroup dynamics can be exacerbated by the competition for limited resources. On many occasions, minority groups unite to challenge unequal treatment in the academy, but in some situations APAs are overlooked when they have real concerns and are hurt by such exclusion. Intergroup dynamics are

frequently grounded in racial stereotypes and many APAs are discouraged that the "model minority" image is so widely and uncritically accepted, even by some APAs. Other minority group members as well as whites may view Asian Pacific Americans as advantaged in education and question their participation in programs, such as remedial English and math courses or at multicultural centers. In their interactions as students, faculty, staff, and administrators, some interviewees report that APAs may be considered more like "honorary whites," which denies them recognition as a minority group with access and equity issues. This, too, is part of an unwelcoming campus climate for APAs.

Intergroup relations among women of various racial and ethnic groups can also contribute to a lack of support for Asian Pacific American women in academe. While some interviewees found other women helpful, others expressed difficulties with white women and other women of color. The latter view was triggered by incidents in which other women were disrespectful of APA women and their issues and demonstrated racial, class, and cultural biases.

Intragroup relations within the APA population are also complex and not free from bias. Off campus, new APA communities have frequently overwhelmed older APA communities or created new community sites—Koreatowns, Little Saigons, and Little Indias as well as new Chinatowns. Misunderstandings are not uncommon. American-born APAs may be embarrassed by the dress, accent, and politics of newcomer APAs. Newcomers may disdain efforts by older APA communities to assist them with their issues. On campus, Filipino, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian American groups often feel neglected and some perceive longer established Chinese and Japanese American groups to be advantaged in academic programs and employment. Within the Asian Pacific American community itself, consideration needs to be given to eliminating biases that restrict some Asian or Pacific ethnic groups, creating thereby a more equitable environment for all Asian Pacific American women and men.

Recommendations

- *Adopt effective and fair policies and practices that include Asian Pacific Americans and account for the great variation among APA groups and between APA women and men.*

**Asian Pacific Americans
are neither
black nor white
and find the primacy
of a black/white
racial framework
marginalizes them in
the public sphere.**

- Be aware of exclusive and divisive policies and practices in intergroup relations that do not include Asian Pacific Americans.
- Be aware of exclusive and divisive gender policies and practices that overlook APA women.
- Include specific reference to Asian Pacific Americans as part of general diversity policy and education. Provide diversity training for students, faculty, staff, and administrators to better educate the campus community about biases in intergroup and intragroup relations.
- Provide spaces and structures where Asian Pacific Americans can deepen their own understandings of one another with an aim to reduce biases within the Asian Pacific American community itself.

Being First-Generation and Working-Class

Academic institutions are cultural institutions where middle-class and upper-middle class members are advantaged. Such an environment feels like foreign terrain to those who lack appropriate guides.⁵⁹ More attention needs to be given to supporting the aspirations and goals of working-class Asian Pacific American women who are the first in their families to attend colleges and universities. At the same time they are helping their families adjust to a new society, they themselves are learning to be college students. APA female students are often caught between the different values and expectations for women held by their ethnic communities and by American society. They may also experience competing family and peer group demands, especially in regard to dating and co-curricular activities. The following is a typical parents' view of priorities:

"Why?" Maria and her sister [undergraduates] had asked their father. "Why no boyfriend?"

"Because one boyfriend leads to another, and then that means you're going to have sex, and then maybe marriage, and it's all too young and premature; so don't get into any of those things; just study, study, study."⁶⁰

First-generation APA college students from working-class households generally attend community colleges or four-year public institutions. Many are commuter students, attending urban institutions and living at home to save family resources. They may work long hours each day, not for extra spending money but to support their parents, causing their school work to suffer. They often have household obligations as well, including serving as translators for elders. There is little time for co-curricular activities. Hence, they experience higher education differently from their more privileged peers and are the "new outsiders."⁶¹ As one commuting Vietnamese American woman explained,

"I have six brothers and sisters. We receive welfare. To help the family, my older brother and sister work, and I work part-time. This is my fifth semester here. It is hard to work and go to school at the same time."⁶²

These students come to colleges and universities motivated to achieve, not solely for themselves, but for their families. Many APA women interviewed said they feel pressured to complete their undergraduate degrees quickly and to postpone further studies in order to work to support their families and help younger siblings through school.

Academic institutions do not alleviate the strains borne by first-generation, working-class APA women students, but contribute to their lack of integration by creating additional obstacles. Poorly taught and inadequately conceived remedial English courses can be hostile learning environments and serve as roadblocks to further education. Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Hmong American students, in particular, are more isolated than American-born APAs on American campuses and find themselves negotiating college by themselves, or with the help of friends, but without the guidance of informed parents and higher education personnel who are both culturally sensitive and competent.⁶³ Hence cultural and class biases reinforce APA students as "outsiders" in the academy.

Limited English Proficiency, Language Bias, and Accent Discrimination

Many Asian Pacific Americans, especially newcomers, have limited English proficiency which restricts their social and economic mobility in the general society as well as their educational opportunities. Some APA students do not get beyond high school. Others drop out of college. Still others would prefer to study the humanities or social sciences, but feeling it is the safer route when English is their second language, major in math or science often following the guidance of well-meaning advisors. Students are often frustrated by poorly taught and culturally insensitive ESL classes and the hurdles of various levels of ESL training. They also report difficulties with peers, faculty, and staff who overlook them because of their limited English skills or are impatient with APAs, sometimes even ridiculing them or allowing others to ridicule them as they struggle to speak correctly.⁶⁴

APAs at all levels also find language bias and accent discrimination significant obstacles in both the larger society and academe. They find American society is generally intolerant of English spoken with Asian accents, but accepts, and even privileges, English spoken with European accents. Students feel faculty and

teaching assistants do not call on them in class or think they are less intelligent because of their accents. One graduate student interviewed was shocked that students and faculty in her department would later make fun of an APA's presentation for a faculty position by imitating the candidate's accented speaking style. "That candidate didn't have a chance!" she declared.

Since language is an integral part of culture, a lack of respect for another person's language betrays cultural bias. Some accomplished APA faculty who speak English with a non-American accent find themselves corrected by their colleagues. While angered by this behavior, given their academic achievements, they may still conclude that little harm is done to their careers.⁶⁵ Other APAs, such as native Hawaiian Haunani-Kay Trask, view such efforts as another form of colonialism.

"Her [the chair's] belief that there existed a correct way—a culturally correct way—of speaking and behaving made it clear to me how white hegemony in Hawai'i and on the campus would mean a tight constraint on my cultural behaviors. I was to start acting, as we say in Hawaiian, as a ho'ohuaile, someone who behaves like a white person. I was shocked, humiliated, furious, and depressed."⁶⁶

More importantly, one campus climate study concludes that English language deficiency is oftentimes perceived

and not real. The "visual identification" of an Asian Pacific American as a "foreigner" often leads to the expectation that she is English deficient, when she is not. APA students may suffer in lack of support for them and perhaps even a lower grade. Because people mistakenly believe Asian Pacific Americans cannot be understood, APA faculty may suffer in recruitment and promotion, receive low evaluations from students, and miss opportunities to serve on key campus committees that would enhance their service to the institution and could advance their careers. APA staff also conclude that such a perception limits their professional progress. Finally, APA administrators and those who seek administrative careers find language and accent discrimination harmful. Search committees and academic institutions erroneously conclude APAs cannot be effective leaders because of their speech pattern or perceived language deficiency.⁶⁷ Thus language and accent discrimination, combined with failure to respond adequately to those APA women and men in need of English skills development, is another aspect of an unsupportive climate.

Recommendations

- Provide English language opportunities as a variety of levels, from intensive classes to informal conversation partners for students, faculty, staff, and administrators who need them.

The Problem of Using a Single Category for Asian and Pacific Groups

How did a single category emerge for persons of Asian and Pacific Islander descent in America? An umbrella term, "Asian American," originated as a self-definition during the social movements of the late 1960s. College students and community activists, then mostly Chinese and Japanese Americans, with smaller numbers of Filipino and Korean Americans, recognized that while their countries of origin were different from one another, persons of Asian descent had a common history of racial discrimination and treatment in the U.S. They rejected the disparaging label "Oriental" imposed on them first by Europeans and then Americans, and instead created a pan-Asian ethnic identity by renaming them-

selves Asian Americans. Over time, "Asian American" has become a shared political identity among people of Asian descent and their community organizations, which have united to achieve common goals, especially on issues of inequity in the U.S.¹

The arrival, after 1965, of other Asian and Pacific Islander groups to the continental U.S. has enlarged the population's complexity and contributed to new terms. The increase in racially mixed Asian and Pacific Islanders has also expanded the meaning of Asian American.² The U.S. Bureau of the Census introduced a single category "Asian or Pacific Islander" (API) in the 1990 census to encompass the many groupings, while also permitting individuals to write in their specific group identification. Nineteen Asian and 20 Pacific

Islander groups were listed in that census.³ The largest are enumerated in the table on page 8. Asian and Pacific communities, on the other hand, have adopted a number of different terms to recognize the population's broadened composition. In addition to Asian or Pacific Islander, they use Asian, Asian American, Asian Pacific American (APA), Asian and Pacific Islander, Americans of Asian and Pacific Ancestry, and similar pan-ethnic terms interchangeably.

Any umbrella category for Asians and Pacific Americans, while a useful classification, remains problematic and unsatisfactory even for the members themselves. Many APAs, especially recent immigrants, may not identify with such terms, preferring to think of themselves first in terms of national origin, as, for example, Koreans, native Hawai-

- Educate the campus about distinctions between "real" and "perceived" language deficiencies and have policies against accent and language discrimination.
- Encourage APA women to empower themselves to confront and deal with issues like language proficiency, accented English, and the nonverbal cues they receive that they feel are degrading and demeaning.

Small Stature and Youthful Appearance

Notions of competency and authority are culturally based and socially constructed. Many Asian Pacific American female faculty, staff, and administrators report they are treated differently because of the way they look. Their often youthful appearance and small stature imply they are "child-like" and not to be taken seriously. But even tall and mature APA women report being seen as less intelligent, less qualified, or simply ignored. Intersecting with race and gender stereotypes, biases in regard to stature and appearance are another impediment APA women must contend with daily. The following are typical comments from interviews with APA women.

"APA women look child-like [to tall men] and we become invisible."

"It happens all the time. I'm a faculty member in my early forties with grey hair and I'll be in the library or somewhere else on campus and be ignored. When I

finally get their attention, they'll say, 'Oh, I thought you were a student!'"

"If I don't dress up, they [male faculty and administrators] will walk right by me in the corridor and not even see me."

"We [APA female administrators] are not taken seriously, because we don't look the role [since administrators are generally white men] and our authority is undermined."

Communication and Leadership Styles

Newcomer APAs often note differences in values, communication, and leadership styles in everyday life in the U.S. that are replicated in the academy. Misinterpretations of what is appropriate behavior occur when mainstream Americans emphasize "youth, individualism, and aggressiveness" and traditional APA cultures favor "seniority, consensus, and reticence." APA women in academe find their often youthful appearance may be an advantage for entry level positions, but works against them for higher level positions. Furthermore, an APA female faculty member seeking consensus in a meeting, or being polite and deferring to a senior colleague, or waiting to have something to contribute to a discussion before speaking may feel she is acting properly in her culture and as a woman. She is likely to be viewed by the dominant male culture, how-

ians, or Asian Indians. The Asian and Pacific Islander population is also fluid, evolving, and subject to modification along with its identity politics. A single category is also interpreted differently depending on location, situation, and institution. For example, some colleges and universities combine data on APAs with international students from Asia and the Pacific Rim, or they include Middle Eastern groups within the Asian Pacific American population. Such aggregate data, however, misrepresent groups, distort APA data, and complicate comparative analyses. Most importantly for the purpose of assessing educational achievement, collapsing APAs into a single category for enumeration and data analysis homogenizes statistics on individuals and groups with distinctly different characteristics,

including English language proficiency, family income, and generation in America. The picture of an "average" APA may not resemble a real person or represent the group, and therefore policies and programs directed at APAs may be inadequate or inappropriate. Difficulties experienced by specific ethnic groups or by gender are also hidden in aggregate data. Educational institutions need to recognize the limitations of a single APA category and give attention to the population's complexity and diversity and how Asian Pacific American women's issues may differ within each APA group and among ethnic groups on their campuses.

Notes

1. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) and William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

2. Maria P. P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992).

3. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics*, 1993, B-30.

ever, as lacking leadership qualities, confidence in her own abilities, and original ideas. This perception can hinder her professional advancement and reinforce this notion of lack of leadership.⁶⁸

Asian Pacific American women who do not conform to "traditional" APA cultural behaviors face a "Catch-22" situation. Many interviewees find peers expect them to behave like a "typical" APA woman and often do not know how to relate to them when they defy stereotypes. Some APA women feel their professional progress is impeded because they are considered too outspoken and aggressive when they are simply being assertive. Thus those who fit the lack of leadership stereotype are penalized as well as those who do not.

Differences in dominant American and Asian Pacific American values, communication skills, and leadership styles are frequently given to explain why qualified Asian Pacific Americans are underrepresented in managerial levels of corporations, the government, and academic. The underlying assumption is that in order to succeed, APAs need to acculturate themselves to mainstream American ways. American-born APA women and men, especially those who are third- and fourth-generation American, find this explanation baffling and insufficient because they are already acculturated to the American mainstream. The cultural differences argument fails to explain their difficulties in advancing to higher professional levels and obscures other biases. Furthermore, APAs have not benefited from the increased value given to collaborative decision-making in management, a style generally held by women and Asian Pacific Americans. Thus APAs, regardless of their generation in the U.S., point to racial and gender discrimination as the primary explanation for their lack of progress in academic administration.⁶⁹

APA women and men, like all Americans, have a range of communication skills and leadership styles. Who has not entered a crowded Asian restaurant or attended an APA student social or club activity on campus and been overwhelmed by the cacophony of voices and exuberant behaviors? Many APA women who are highly expressive and leaders in their own communities continue to be so on their campuses. Others report being silenced by the

chilly climate and restrain their interactions. Thus the "reticence" of an APA female may be interpreted as cultural when in fact she is being silenced by everyday inequities and small behaviors. Still others internalize the notion of cultural differences, find fault with themselves, and seek opportunities from institutions and APA groups to develop mainstream communication and leadership skills.

Recommendations

- Recognize biases regarding physical stature and appearance that limit access and opportunities for APA women.
- Recognize the wide range of effective communication and leadership styles expressed by APAs and reward them.
- Be aware of racial and gender discrimination, cultural biases, and stereotypes that exclude APA women and men from being considered for managerial positions and higher levels of administration. Adopt fair and equal practices to ensure opportunities, training, and support for APAs in leadership positions at all levels and in all sectors of campus life.

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Part III: Asian Pacific American Women and the Academy

"I want to call attention to something that is easily overlooked, even by sensitive and well-intentioned people. In our American 'family,' Asian Americans are treated like orphans, foreigners, and underlings. We're kept outside the house. And when we enter, we are not allowed to stand straight. That's because we face glass ceilings in industry, the academic world and our government."⁷⁰

The previous section examined stereotypes and biases in American society and how they are reproduced in colleges and universities and obstruct the academic development and advancement of Asian Pacific American women. This section focuses on academic institutions themselves as a community for APA women and examines their experiences in colleges and universities more closely.

The Academic Pipeline

One major trend in higher education since 1970 is the increase in the numbers of APA students, both women and men. The gains in degrees earned by APAs over the past decade are largely attributable to Asian Pacific American women. What follows is a brief outline of their progress in the academic pipeline.⁷¹

Students. Asian Pacific American women earned 51.6 percent of all APA bachelor's degrees in 1994, more than double their number over the past decade. They favored degrees in health-related subjects, education, humanities, and the arts, and slightly outnumbered APA males in the social sciences and business. The bachelor's degree tends to protect some APA women from being confined to low-wage employment as service workers and machine operators where foreign-born APA women who lack English proficiency and schooling are heavily concentrated.⁷²

Asian Pacific American women also more than doubled their master's degrees earned between 1985 and 1994, but still held only 46 percent of all APA master's degrees in 1994. In contrast, women in general earned 54.4 percent of all master's degrees that year. APA women outnumbered APA men in master's degrees earned in education, health, arts, humanities, and the social sciences, but were underrepresented in business, the sciences, and engineering/computer science.

One trend among international students over the past decade is that the majority of those seeking doctorates are from Asian countries. Asian international doctoral students are distinct from APA doctoral students. In 1995, they received eight times the number of doctoral degrees from U.S. universities earned by Asian Pacific Americans. The tendency of academic institutions to merge data on doctoral students who are Asian foreign nationals, most of whom will return to their home countries, with APA doctoral students, who are members of a racial minority, distorts the reality of APA doctoral production by U.S. universities.

Doctorates earned in the U.S. by Asian Pacific American women have increased over the past decade, but their numbers remain small—a mere 668 out of more than 27,000 doctorates awarded in 1995. APA women also trailed their male counterparts with 41.1 percent of all U.S. doctorates earned by APAs in 1995 compared to women in general, who earned 45.9 percent of all U.S. doctorates that year. Asian Pacific Americans appear to be well represented in the fields of engineering, life sciences, and physical sciences, but are underrepresented in all other fields of study. A breakdown of fields of study by gender was not available.

Although more Asian Pacific Americans are seeking doctorates, many more are pursuing professional

degrees. Compared to other racial minorities, APAs are earning first-professional degrees, in medicine and law, for example, in greater numbers than they are earning doctorates. Many APAs, especially from working-class and first-generation families, believe that physicians, dentists, attorneys, and similar professionals provide important services to their communities, and that professional degrees confer greater job security, prestige, and earning power than doctorates. They are also doubtful of academic careers because of limited employment opportunities, together with the difficulty of obtaining tenure, compared to the prospects opened by professional degrees. This belief influences the choices of both APA women and men. APA women made the greatest gains of any racial or ethnic group in first-professional degrees from 1985 to 1994, earning 45 percent (2,678) of all degrees awarded to APAs in 1994. In contrast, women in general earned 40.7 percent of all first-professional degrees that year.

Faculty. Faculty data on APAs generally includes Asian foreign nationals, most of whom are men who emigrated as international students for graduate study and have remained in the U.S. Primarily in engineering and the sciences, they too are making a contribution to higher education. One study estimated Asian foreign nationals were 42 percent of all full-time APA faculty in 1991.⁷³ The tendency to combine Asian Pacific Americans with Asian foreign nationals not only inflates the number of Asians, but obscures the representation of Asian Pacific Americans in faculty positions as well. Colleges and universities should make clear distinctions between Asians and APAs in faculty recruitment and retention.

Although the numbers of APA female faculty are growing, they are still rare on American campuses and concentrated in junior ranks. APA female faculty nearly doubled in number (3,222 to 6,326) from 1983 to 1993, which includes Asian foreign nationals, but still represented only 25 percent of all APA faculty in 1993. This was the largest gender gap of any racial or ethnic group in 1993. That year APA female faculty were overrepresented in foreign languages (many of these in non-tenure lecturer positions), well represented in health sciences, especially nursing, and underrepresented in all other areas.⁷⁴ Resistance to changing traditional faculty recruitment processes (largely dependent on recommendations from those whom one knows) and the lack of diversity on search committees have been identified as barriers to increasing faculty diversity in academic institutions at the same time that colleges and universities recognize the need for change.⁷⁵

Faculty of color and women, in general, have lower tenure rates than white men. APA female faculty have

one of the lowest tenure rates and even lost ground when their tenure rate declined from 55 percent in 1983 to 52 percent in 1993. The tenure rate for both APA women and men has not been systematically examined, but it may be that APA women are especially harmed by a chilly climate.

Administrators. In 1996, there were only three Asian Pacific American women among the 20 APA presidents of U.S. colleges and universities, and they headed two-year institutions. The majority of APA male presidents headed four-year institutions.⁷⁶ The small number of APA women (and APA men as well) at the highest levels of academic administration is not commensurate with their representation as students and faculty, and it suggests the effect of a glass ceiling.

To summarize how Asian Pacific American women are faring in the academic pipeline, they have made impressive gains in undergraduate and graduate education over the past decade. However, with the exception of first-professional degree holders, they have lagged behind women in all other racial and ethnic groups. Their slower progress in earning higher numbers of doctorates and being hired for faculty positions, and their very small presence as academic CEOs, raise serious concerns. The number of APA women in higher education is an important issue, but equally important is the *quality* of their experience in the academy.

Recommendations

- *Re-examine institutional policies and practices that exclude Asian Pacific American women in higher education. Adopt inclusive ones that identify and support qualified APA women in academic programs, and provide professional development at all levels.*
- *Give special attention to APA women in doctoral recruitment and retention and faculty recruitment, tenure, and promotion. Remedy policies and practices that might obstruct their advancement and development.*
- *Give attention to fields of study where APA women and men are underrepresented, such as the humanities and social sciences, and develop the APA pipeline in these areas through the recruitment and support of students and faculty.*
- *Maintain separate data on APA faculty and foreign-born Asian faculty to ensure a more accurate representation of both groups on campus. Distinguish between the two groups in recruitment and retention. Develop campus policies and practices to enhance the recruitment and retention of APA faculty.*
- *Include a mini-diversity training seminar as mandatory preparation for all campus search committees. This will also benefit the committee members as well*

as other minorities being considered for faculty, professional staff, and administrative positions.

- *Target, identify, and support APA women and men for leadership training programs and for careers in academic administration.*

- *Encourage Asian Pacific American women and men to empower themselves through campus, regional, and national organizations of students, faculty, staff, and administrators to deal with obstacles and to strengthen the pipeline.*

Complexity and Diversity

Like their racial group as a whole, Asian Pacific American women are heterogeneous in ethnicity, culture, class, urban/rural/suburban background, and generation in America. Different languages and dialects are spoken, and family experiences range widely among the American-born, indigenous, recent immigrant, refugee, and international student who remains in the United States. Some are the first in their families to enroll in higher education. Their life experiences bring a richness and complexity to colleges and universities, but their diversity is often disregarded and homogenized. The following exchange from a focus group of APA female graduate students in the social sciences captures their exasperation at the cultural insensitivity of faculty who treat APA women as if they are both indistinguishable from one another and interchangeable.

Student #1: "I am glad that my Ph.D. program has several APA women, but we are all the same person to everyone. We don't even look alike, but I have been called every Asian American woman's name even if they are five inches taller! Don't they [the faculty] ever bother to find out who we are?"

Student #2: "That happens in my department too and there are only two of us!"

Student #3: "Have you noticed that they never compare our names in Asian American Studies courses?"

Because of the rich diversity of APA women, they have different issues and priorities as students, faculty, staff, and administrators. Institutions need to consider the variation within their APA population in addressing Asian Pacific American women's needs.

Overattention and Underattention

Women of color experience more sharply the overattention and underattention that all women experience in higher education, especially on predominantly white campuses and in predominantly male sectors of campuses. The high visibility APA women experience is generally unwanted and unwarranted. One mixed race

APA faculty member recounts her two-year search for a faculty position in multicultural American literature and found an overattentiveness to race in the interview process. Search committees interrogated, doubted, and dissected her personal history "often with little discretion, tact, or concern for legality or propriety" and gave secondary attention to her academic interests in Asian American literature.⁷⁷

"During the interviews they would want to know all about my racial and ethnic background. At one dinner, I was asked where my mother was from and my father, and how they met. Another time, they wanted to know if my middle name was really Chinese. Did I make it up? And another time, was I really Asian? Was I Asian enough? There were so many intrusive interviews, but what could I do, I wanted the job."

Once hired, APA female faculty, professional staff, or administrators are often considered "tokens." As a form of "symbolic equality," systematic tokenism creates impediments to expanding the number of APA women on campus and facilitating their inclusion. "Tokens" are also subjected to a campus life of close scrutiny and being considered an oddity. Consequently, an APA woman is not valued generally for herself or what she brings to an institution, but is seen as a highly visible representative of a marginalized group.⁷⁸ APA women also experience overattention when their representation, skills, or expertise are sought on specific occasions by their institutions and they are expected to be "iters," a heavy burden not usually borne by non-minority colleagues.⁷⁹

At the same time, APA women experience underattention which undermines them as students and professionals. Many white women and men may express uneasiness with women of color by keeping their distance and sometimes questioning the legitimacy of APA women as students, faculty, staff, and administrators reinforcing their "outsider" and "stranger" status.⁸⁰ Underattention is also manifested as ignorance about the complexity and diversity of APA women, in the devaluation of their research and teaching interests, and through the rejection of APA issues on campus.

Thus, APA women can at once be both overly attended to and discounted, and they are continually shocked at the cultural insensitivity and stereotyping they encounter. They sense being showcased as part of an institution's diversity, such as in college brochures, while being excluded from consideration in situations

essential to their survival and advancement, notably fellowships and career development opportunities. The following experience of a female graduate student reveals how APAs can be treated as visible categories and even "exotic" commodities, but with scant attention to their academic endeavors.

*"Recently, in an interview for a graduate fellowship, a professor asked how I felt about my low GRE math score, especially since this is one of those perceived Asian success areas. Later when I inquired about the environment for Asians within the campus and city, the same professor mentioned several markers where I could find 'my Asian spaces' [ignoring my research interests]. I was visibly taken aback at both these comments. Ironically, I was interviewing for a minority fellowship, one whose aim included populating the campus with students of color in order to gain a certain intellectual richness and diversity from them (this notion itself contains the possibility of presenting the minority as different, unusual and perhaps exotic)."*⁸¹

Many Asian Pacific American students experience a racial and/or ethnic identity crisis while attending college.

Recommendations

- Provide diversity training to educate the campus about the complexity and diversity of APA women in higher education.

- Be aware of biases of tokenism and underattention of APA

women. Adopts fair and equitable treatment in policies, practices, and programs at all levels.

Racial and Ethnic Identity Issues

*"...I [a female student] never really had to deal with being Asian until I got here... I identified more with being a woman than being Asian. That was a bigger deal in terms of discrimination and stuff like that...[I have come to] realize, 'Wow, there's something in this race thing too.'"*⁸²

*"I have both Korean and non-Korean friends [at the university], however I actually had no attempts to make Korean friends by joining a cultural club. My biggest fear was that I would not be accepted because I was not 'white,' or not 'American' [being from a predominantly white small town]. To my surprise, more Korean American students experienced the same things: racial hatred, rejecting their culture, and going through an identity crisis. For the first time, I met people who were similar to me."*⁸³

Many Asian Pacific American students experience a racial and/or ethnic identity crisis while attending college. This influences their academic, personal, and social development. Like other racial groups, APAs are heterogeneous and bring a wide range of personal experiences and knowledge about diversity to their campuses. Their interactions reflect these differences. Some APAs, especially those raised in white middle-class suburbs or regions of the country where they are still few in numbers, experience "culture shock." Confronted by the "race thing" where APAs are treated as racial stereotypes rather than as individuals, many find themselves dealing with their racial identity for the first time. Other Asian Pacific Americans who attended high schools with large APA or other minority populations are disturbed to find so little diversity on their campuses and are equally, but differently estranged.

Colleges and universities are also sites where APAs of different ethnic backgrounds meet one another. This, too, is an adjustment. Many students find comfort in their long-standing or newly found racial or ethnic identity; they make friends with other APAs and students of color, and become involved in ethnic student organizations, sometimes to the exclusion of other affiliations. Other APA students find themselves in conflict. They may have difficulty moving between APAs and other friends of color (who feel they are "trying to be white" by spending so much time with whites), and their white friends (who view their wanting to spend time with other APAs and students of color as being "clannish.")⁶⁴

Most students want to feel they are accepted and belong, but APAs speak of the many subtle ways in which race excludes them from a full campus life. Some APA women are so hurt by racism that they internalize their racial oppression and develop self-hatred and shame about themselves. To gain acceptance in the dominant white culture, they may distance themselves from other APAs and minority issues. Keith Osajima has identified the rejection of an APA identity, uneasiness around other APAs and students of color, and apothecisms about whether or not they are accepted as "American" as among the "hidden injuries of racism" borne by APA students.⁶⁵

Recommendations

- *Provide a positive campus climate of diversity that supports students in their intergroup and intragroup racial and ethnic relations and in forming organizations that address identity and group development.*
- *Create mechanisms to identify and reach out to students having difficulty around issues of racial and ethnic identity and provide student support services with culturally sensitive and competent counselors to assist*

Asian Pacific American students in their social and psychological needs.

- *Provide carefully designed forums with facilitators who have expertise in intragroup relations through which students within their same racial groups can explore their differences in open and mutually illuminating ways.*
- *Provide similar forums facilitated by similarly trained experts through which students from diverse racial backgrounds can engage in fruitful interracial dialogue.*

The Campus Climate

"Climate has been defined as the prevailing condition affecting life and activity. In an academic setting the climate is set by the expectations and past experiences of students, faculty members, and staff, by the history of the institution, and by the behaviors and goals that are expected and rewarded."⁶⁶

Asian Pacific Americans contribute to campus diversity, yet they are viewed by many with unease, and even as a threat. Some peers assume incorrectly that APA students, faculty, staff, and administrators are on campus because of affirmative action policies and challenge APA legitimacy. More importantly, despite the popular notion that APAs are an academic "success story" and have moved easily into higher education, APA women often experience an inhospitable climate.

Many APA women express dissatisfaction with their campus life and at being treated as if they were invisible. Those on predominantly white campuses are the most estranged. It is especially isolating to be among the few Hmong or Pacific Islander women or graduate APA women on campus. APA women speak frequently of encountering stereotypes as well as racial, gender, class, and cultural biases (explored in detail in the previous section) that can range from open hostility to cultural insensitivity, but are mostly subtle and contribute to their marginalization.⁶⁷

Students. The growth in the numbers of APA students has brought them greater social comfort, but many find that the academic culture has not changed sufficiently to integrate APAs and their concerns. Issues that APA students identify include the need for financial assistance, adequate and competently taught ESL courses, and student support services with culturally sensitive and qualified personnel. Their educational experience, they also argue, would be greatly improved by APA counselors and academic advisors, Asian American studies and related multicultural curricula, and additional minority and female faculty and staff to serve as instructors, mentors, and role models.⁶⁸ That APA women have been leaders in student demonstra-

tions and hunger strikes over these issues in recent years at institutions across the nation indicates that their concerns should not be treated lightly. APA students view institutional resistance in responding to these issues as part of the negative climate.

Most importantly, as a still predominantly white male faculty and administration interacts with an increasingly diverse student body, academic institutions have yet to fully comprehend that they themselves must change. Instead, adjustment is viewed largely as a one-way process in which students of color and women are expected to adapt to what is already in place. Students from immigrant and refugee households, who are least familiar with the cultural terrain, bear the heaviest burden. Working-class Asian Pacific American women feel unwelcome and face difficulties in academic when middle and upper-middle class ways of speaking, knowing, and being are privileged. Campus climates will be improved dramatically when institutions realize they, too, must transform themselves to support new constituencies and a new understanding of the relationship of diversity to academic excellence.

Faculty. The small number of Asian Pacific American female faculty on each campus exacerbates their sense of isolation. Many are enhancing the intellectual diversity of academic through new perspectives, curriculum, and scholarly interests and are sought out by students. They often feel their teaching, research, university service, and student advisement are not fully acknowledged, however. APA women are insufficiently recognized for their academic expertise, but are called upon when diversity issues need to be addressed. They often have heavier teaching and advisement loads than male faculty, and carry service assignments for which they are given little credit. APA faculty in ethnic or women's studies are often marginalized because of their research interests, while those in "traditional" fields are often treated as if they are ethnic scholars regardless of their expertise.⁸⁹

APA faculty women list the lack of mentoring, the absence of a sense of community with their colleagues, and indifference to their contributions to campus life among their concerns. They feel APA women are generally devalued in their departments and evaluated differently. Their theoretical perspectives, publications, and creative work, especially those involving ethnic and women's issues, are frequently disregarded by peers who consider APA women's contributions lacking in academic merit. This can seriously affect tenure and promotion for Asian Pacific American women. In addition, some APA women find their campus issues and leadership ignored and underrated.⁹⁰ Their concerns may be doubted by whites and occasionally by other

minorities, who do not see Asian Pacific Americans as racially disadvantaged. The following comments reveal the many ways in which APA faculty women, their work, and issues are diminished and silenced.

"I have had one consistent difficulty through my 20-year academic career—race. Other faculty do not perceive Asian Americans as ethnic minorities with real concerns. When I raise racial issues about APAs they look at me as if to say, 'Why are you talking about this?'" (racially mixed Asian/Latina American)

"Give me one good reason why I should read your [Chinese American women] writers, other than guilt," a former chairman said to me."⁹¹

"They [faculty colleagues] have such stereotypes of us [APAs]. They think we can only teach about ourselves. As a South Asian woman, they don't know what to do with me. In their minds, I should be teaching South Asian history, not American history." (first-generation Asian Indian American)

"I am fortunate enough to be in an Ethnic Studies department, but it also means that my department is not well regarded by the rest of the campus. And sometimes I have to deal with sexism in my department, like being responsible for the social stuff that occasionally has to be done." (Chinese American)

Staff. APA professional staff find few channels to articulate their unequal treatment. When speaking of an unsupportive campus climate, they cite limited access to information and support networks that could enhance their professional advancement. They feel they must be more qualified than others and work harder just to get onto the playing field. APA women struggle against the belief that they do not fit the management profile because of the way they look and perhaps speak. Among their concerns are invisibility and marginalization, contending with stereotypes, unfair workloads and evaluations, and slow career mobility. APAs with responsibilities for minority concerns are dismayed to be repeatedly challenged by whites about their work, and sometimes by other persons of color, who do not view Asian Pacific Americans as a racial group in need.⁹²

"When I worked at X college, I helped to direct the Multicultural Center. These centers play an important role in student retention and building leadership, but people kept asking me, 'Why do we need such a center? It's segregating. Why not a white students' center?' Didn't they see that the whole campus culture was predominantly white? It's the rest of the campus that is exclusive." (second-generation Filipino American)

Administrators. APA female administrators share similar experiences with faculty and staff and suffer from both high visibility and invisibility because of their small numbers. The following comment is an acute observation of the problem.

"As an Asian American woman in an administrative position, I find myself integrating meeting rooms. Sometimes there is another minority, generally a man, or another woman, usually white. But many times I am the only woman of color. But people don't see me as a member of a minority group." (Japanese American)

Those whose responsibilities include diversity issues find their efforts to bring attention to Asian Pacific Americans frequently dismissed by colleagues. In the comment below, one administrator expressed concern about how to ensure that campuses take up APA and other minority issues without having always to rely on an APA to do so.

"There is a preconceived notion of APA women as not speaking up, but I saw my role as a student advocate fighting battles for minority and immigrant students to protect their access and rights. My institution got so tired of me, like 'Here she goes again!' But when I left to take a higher position at another campus, they said, 'Now that you're leaving, who is going to be our conscience?'" (Asian American community college administrator)

APA women and men dismiss the notion that they are not interested in or lack the qualifications and leadership skills for high-level management positions. For them, their lack of representation in managerial and academic administrative positions in academe is a serious issue. Those working administrative positions or working to advance to higher administrative levels maintain that APAs are not being identified, mentioned, or recruited for these roles. Academic institutions have yet to acknowledge that racial and gender discrimination, stereotypes of APA women, and numerous biases, such as stature and youthful appearance, language and accent discrimination, communication and leadership styles, and notions about appropriate roles for women are obstacles that diminish opportunities for qualified APA women administrators, and men as well. Most importantly, a pool of qualified APA applicants already exists with extensive administrative experiences and skills gained both on- and off-campus, often without sufficient recognition or lofty titles. Furthermore, many APA candidates for administrative positions possess the desirable characteristics of academic leadership being sought today, such as knowledge of and commitment to diversity and collaborative decision-making. None-

theless, they are still being overlooked by non-diverse search committees consciously or unconsciously seeking to fill positions with persons like themselves.⁹³

In summary, although APA students, faculty, staff, and administrators experience their lack of integration into their institutions differently, they share racial and gender discrimination, and class and cultural biases, as a common barrier. Furthermore, although some individuals and institutions may not view APA educational concerns as acute as those of other minority groups, Asian Pacific Americans view themselves as a minority group with genuine needs and legitimate concerns about access and equity.

Most importantly, the unequal treatment of APA issues is well documented in research and campus climate studies. Thus it is most harmful when a college or university resists taking APA concerns seriously and is unwilling to allocate adequate resources for them. Given the large numbers of APA students in higher education, Asian Pacific Americans are appalled at this indifference which epitomizes their unsupportive campus climate.

Recommendations

- Give legitimacy to the concerns of Asian Pacific American students, faculty, staff, and administrators on campus.
- Take steps to ensure that APA female faculty are fully integrated into their disciplines and departments.
- Include APA women faculty, administrators, and staff on a variety of campus committees, including search committees, based on demonstrated interest and expertise as well as, or even instead of, ethnicity.
- Target, identify, and support APA female faculty and administrators for positions of advancement.
- Include APA female staff in management training programs and target, identify, and support them for positions of advancement.
- Establish opportunities on campus and at other institutions and national organizations for APA women and men to have mentoring partnerships with senior administrators.
- Encourage APA women and men to form and support their own campus, regional, or national networks to mentor each other and serve as role models.
- Re-examine institutional policies and practices that exclude Asian Pacific American women and men from managerial and academic administrative opportunities and remedy biases in practices to eliminate discrimination in the APA administrative pipeline.
- Give attention to issues raised by APAs in campus climates and diversity reports and provide the necessary resources to ensure concerns are adequately addressed.

Classroom Climate

"Guys do think that girls are a bit inferior. They laugh at you, especially in science classes. Like, uh, why did you ask that?" (1.5 generation Taiwanese American undergraduate, science major)

Students. The classroom can be a discouraging place for women of color. Being silent there is different from being silenced. Sometimes Asian Pacific American women are just polite. They may not want to interrupt others, hold up the class with questions when other students appear to understand, or suggest to the instructor that his or her lecture is confusing. But more often they are silenced. Male faculty and students generally control the classroom through verbal and nonverbal behavior.⁹⁶ Undergraduate and graduate women interviewed observe that male students are validated in the classroom and APA women are frequently ignored. APA women also report being challenged as authorities by white women who speak as authorities on all women's experiences, leaving little space for others. White women who speak too long or too frequently, interrupting others, also contribute to an intimidating atmosphere by pushing APA women farther to the margins of the classroom. Students also observe that when APA women are angry or speak up firmly in classroom discussions, "They [classmates and professors] are surprised and don't know how to handle it."

APA women from working-class backgrounds and those who speak with an accent fear being ridiculed or misunderstood. In struggling to express themselves, they can be penalized. As one Vietnamese American undergraduate explained:

"I have found it very hard to learn to speak the English language. I didn't speak English at all when I came to the United States. . . . I have seen some teachers who discriminate against the students. They always punish the students who can't speak English and try to pressure students to drop the class. But it is their job as professors to help us. . . . They [Vietnamese students] think if they stand up for themselves, they will get a bad grade and not pass the class."⁹⁷

APA women are also silenced in the classroom by course readings that emphasize the experiences of European American males and Western cultures. Not seeing themselves or their communities meaningfully reflected in

their studies, they have less to say. Students may also be uncomfortable confronting theories, interpretations, and analyses presented in class that differ from their lived experiences, not yet trusting their own knowledge.⁹⁸

Some undergraduate APA women do experience supportive classes and praised faculty who care that all students participate and express their views. They also cite Asian American studies courses for establishing a classroom climate that is inclusive, cooperative, and non-threatening. Their observations suggest that APA students on campuses that do not offer such courses are disadvantaged. Unfortunately, the chilly climate extends beyond the classroom. APA females in non-traditional fields frequently avoid study lounges where they are stared at and feel intimidated, further diminishing their presence in traditionally male fields.

Graduate Students.

Intelligent and confident female students often show a decline in self-esteem in graduate and professional studies. In postgraduate settings, they feel that predominantly male professors and classmates create a highly competitive and intimidating classroom style.⁹⁹ Some APA women fault their own performance in such an environment. Interviewees provided insightful comments about their classroom experiences.

"When things aren't relevant, we don't say anything. In macro class, women didn't talk too much. Faculty also dismiss gender issues [in class discussions] so what's the point [of raising them]. Sometimes we [APA women] say something because we don't want to perpetuate the image [of being quiet and passive]. But we usually only say something if we have something to say, not like the men in the class." (Fourth-generation Chinese American)

"My cohort in graduate school was small and quite diverse [on race, ethnicity, gender, immigrant, native-born, sexual orientation, and class]. . . . Who gets the lion's share of attention from the professors? The one middle class, heterosexual male. His ideas get applauded, his comments get extended, and his voice gets heard, even after seminar" (Pacific Islander American)

"[In the classroom] I feel like I am supposed to be the representative of race, gender, and sexual orientation issues because of who I am. People will look at me in discussions and say, 'Well, you're the gender person here,' or 'You're the Asian American person here.' I am expected to field the questions. . . . I know other colleagues who do not want to study minority groups

People will look at me in discussions and say, 'Well, you're the gender person here,' or 'You're the Asian American person here.' I am expected to field the questions....

because they would be pigeon-holed as an ethnic researcher. They want to be known as mainstream psychologists. But I am not afraid...." (second-generation Filipina American)

Graduate APA women also express resiliency in combatting the often intense climate of "those who can speak the most forcefully or pound the table." Some revealed strategies they developed to support women in the classroom and for their own academic survival. One group of students met together prior to class to review the readings. They made efforts to build upon comments made by women in class and to credit each other for their contributions to discussions.

Faculty. Faculty issues in the classroom are quite different. Students, especially male students, often hold APA female faculty, including APA female TAs, to a different standard from male faculty and treat them differently as well. APA women, for example, are expected to be nurturing and provide more time and consultation for students. APA women also contend with high expectations from students of color.⁹⁸

K. Benson uses the term "contrapower harassment" to describe situations where the victim has more formal power than the offender, but is disempowered. Male students can exercise male privilege and exert "contrapower" over female faculty. Similarly white students have "contrapower" over faculty of color. Women of color are the most disadvantaged. Although they have formal authority as faculty, it can be diminished by student behavior, especially on predominantly white campuses. Such power is both overt and subtle.⁹⁹

Male students are more likely to contest APA female faculty than male faculty by challenging them during class, after class time, and during office hours. A typical comment describing this situation is, "Male students think because I'm a woman, I'm a 'soft touch.' They are constantly testing my authority and questioning my expertise." APA female faculty report encountering ethnic and sexist comments, sexualized remarks about their dress or demeanor, and posturing from male students ranging from overly friendly behavior to threats in dealing with grades and other academic issues. Gender biases on student evaluations are not uncommon when students have different expectations of women in a faculty role and as possessors of knowledge.¹⁰⁰ While some student comments are just inappropriate, others can be harmful in a faculty member's tenure or promotion review.

In her teaching evaluations over the years, one Malaysian-born APA scholar has found students fascinated with her hair, ("Her long hair is very cute") and resistant to her "foreignness" ("Although she is a for-

eigner, she teaches English good").¹⁰¹ The following is an extreme racist evaluation and was received by a third-generation Japanese American woman teaching an advanced managerial cost accounting course:

"Pretty boring but what do you expect from a fat dumb little nip. She should go back to Japan and let some interesting, deserving American teach. While my fathers were building this country her fathers were trying to destroy it. What right does she have taking my money?"¹⁰²

Recommendations

- Help faculty develop classroom strategies and practices to serve all students and their development in classroom discussions.
- Where appropriate class readings should properly incorporate materials on Asian Pacific American women and men, and other racial and ethnic groups and white women.
- Provide a classroom climate supportive of students with accents.
- Give attention to biases in graduate training and develop programs for faculty and TAs to enable them to serve all students well.
- Acknowledge and support APA women faculty who have extensive teaching and advisement loads. Give them credit for this work in their reviews for tenure and promotion.
- Be aware of faculty harassment and be alert that student evaluations can be biased in reviews for faculty appointment, reappointment, tenure, and promotion.

Asian American Studies and Other Curricular Issues

Curriculum is another area where Asian Pacific Americans find they are invisible. Since the student movements of the late 1960s, APAs have sought Asian American studies specifically and the inclusion of the perspectives, histories, and cultures of racial minority groups in teaching and research in general. Asian American studies involves the documentation and interpretation of the history, identity, culture, contributions, and concerns of Asian Pacific Americans and their communities in the United States. Distinguishing itself from Asian studies, Asian American studies focuses on American experiences.¹⁰³ More campuses now offer ethnic and women's studies, but those with Asian American studies still remain few and concentrated in the western states. Nor have the experiences of minorities and women been fully incorporated into all aspects of the curriculum at the same time that colleges and universities espouse the importance of diversity. The absence of Asian American studies and a limited multi-

cultural curriculum contribute to the inhospitable climate for APAs, especially when they are a significant percentage of the student body.

Interviewees value ethnic studies, women's studies, gay and lesbian studies, and multicultural courses, in general, for the intellectual and social spaces they provide to APAs in an often otherwise culturally alienating academic environment. Many APA female students find the "new" curricula important to their academic development and retention in the academy. Moreover, all students benefit from the inclusion of Asian Pacific Americans in the curriculum. APA students on campuses without Asian American studies speak of the hope that their institutions would soon hire faculty to offer such courses and those who had occasional courses sought the regularization of temporary curriculum with permanent faculty positions. As one Japanese-Korean undergraduate explained in her pursuit of incorporating Asian American studies into the curriculum,

"I found it really frustrating...I thought, 'There is just no room for me [as an Asian American] here [in the curriculum]!' Ethnic studies is vital to American civilization. You can't study Jefferson without understanding his slaves."¹⁰⁴

To gain Asian American studies at their institutions, APA female and male students have organized sit-ins at more than a dozen campuses across the nation over the past decade, including the University of California, Irvine; Northwestern; Princeton; and Columbia University. In some cases, students went on hunger strikes. They have also demonstrated against institutional efforts to weaken existing ethnic studies programs. But colleges and universities have been slow to respond, raising further doubts among APAs about the level of higher education's commitment to diversifying its curriculum and especially in supporting APA student issues.

Recommendations

- Give legitimacy to the concerns of APA women and men and their demands for an inclusive curriculum.
- All colleges and universities should review their curriculum to ensure the proper incorporation of materials and courses on APA women and men.
- All colleges and universities should include ethnic studies, women's studies, and other multicultural curriculum as part of general education requirements.
- Develop and support programs to retrain faculty in the new scholarship about gender, race, and class that informs Asian American studies.
- Establish and support departments, programs, and courses in Asian American studies, including the study of APA women as well as APA men. Temporary

Asian American course offerings should be regularized with permanent faculty.

Advisement and Mentoring

The belief that APAs are a racial "success story" contributes to their neglect in academic and exclusion from supportive advisement and mentoring. Stereotypes and biases held by faculty and advisors often result in negative academic advisement and grading. The following comments reveal different ways in which stereotyping and class bias affect APA students' academic and personal development.

"I went to see this professor to get help because I did not do well on my midterm. He kept comparing me to a Vietnamese student he had before, who he said was his 'best student.' He made me feel like a failure. You know, like I wasn't a 'model minority!' I felt so tiny when I left his office. I never went back." (second-generation Vietnamese American undergraduate)

"I love to write so I take a lot of English classes. They [teaching assistants and professors] immediately look at my paper and give me a B- because they assumed I had tutor help. I had to prove to them that I didn't get any tutor help before they [would] raise my grade. They don't look at my worth, just what they want to see [that I speak with an accent and must not be intelligent]. It happened to me twice at this school."¹⁰⁵

Lack of mentorship helps explain the small number of APA female doctorates. Faculty and advisors often do not identify or support qualified APA women for doctoral studies. Among graduate students interviewed, few APA women reported being acknowledged for their academic achievements or advised to further their studies when they were undergraduates. Staff can also hinder or assist women's academic development. A number of APA female students explained how lost they were until a caring advisor helped them with their academic plans. Many had decided on graduate education and their particular field of study on their own.

Some graduate students spoke of positive experiences with supportive departments and mentors. Students speak well of faculty who spend extra time with them and help them improve their writing and analytical skills. They welcome the attention of all faculty and staff who are nurturing APA female students who had found mentors supportive of their research interests were especially enthusiastic about their educational experience. Others were critical of their unequal treatment in the classroom, in meetings with advisors, and in the scarcity of faculty on campus who understood their scholarly interests. When asked if they had oppor-

opportunities to work with faculty on a research project or publication or if they had been encouraged to submit a paper to a professional meeting, most interviewees answered no and were surprised that such opportunities might be part of their graduate education. Some APAs had been mentored by women and faculty of color, including APA faculty, and recognized that theirs was an unusual situation given the small number of faculty of color in higher education.¹⁰⁶ Others were forced to rely only on themselves because they could not or had not found faculty to guide them. Many were feeling adrift because of the lack of mentoring.

APA female faculty, staff, and administrators also speak of the lack of affiliations and mentoring in their professional development. They identify the predominantly male and white environment as restrictive, limiting their access to information and social networks that could enhance their sense of inclusion in academe. Thus APA women continue to feel like "outsiders" and "strangers" and speak of being silenced. Many rely on APA networks, women's networks, or professional networks outside their institutions for support in their intellectual and career development.

Recommendations

- Encourage and train faculty to enhance advisement and mentoring for APA women students.
- Recognize and reward faculty and staff who advise, mentor, and serve all students well.
- Develop mechanisms to increase access to information and social networks for APA women in support of their academic and career development.
- Recognize and compensate APA women at all levels of university employment for the crucial mentoring they provide informally and without remuneration to APA students and other students of color of both sexes.

Balancing Work, Family, and Community

A major barrier for APA female faculty, like other academic women, is how to balance work and family in an academic environment where policies and practices still reflect a male-centered workplace with expectations that there are wives at home aiding men's careers. Societal pressures from mainstream America and APA communities that emphasize men's careers as primary also contribute to some APA women making professional sacrifices to accommodate a husband's or partner's career. Their decisions often leave many feeling discontent. Like other women, APA women in dual-career households and female-headed households carry "double shifts" since most females have primary responsibility for households and child care. Male bias also may be hidden in campus policies where women

are expected to use their sick leave for maternity leave, thus penalizing them and their households.¹⁰⁷ Although some institutions are adopting family leave policies for both women and men, academic women, including APA women, have different pressures than men in combining their child-bearing years with research and publication deadlines.

In addition to caring for their own children and households, many APA academic women have the extra pressures of finding time for parents and other relatives. This constitutes part of their cultural obligations. Others are active in their respective ethnic communities because of their desire to give back and serve as role models. Still others provide professional skills and expertise. In volunteering their time and services, they feel an added strain.¹⁰⁸

The challenges and ambivalence of balancing important aspects of women's lives are especially well articulated by APA graduate students. Their comments reveal the unresolved tensions they face in academic institutions that still resist the complexities of women's experiences.

"I see different scenarios. I could do research that people really care about and is really useful. I'm turned off by the rat race for tenure. I'm thinking about teaching in a small college. I dream of staying home, being a mom and on the PTA, but to do this I would have to marry someone who can support me [laughter from the whole group]. Or I can become a professor and get tenure to get things done." (mixed race Japanese American)

"I don't know how to make so many things happen. My generation [in the academy] sees the conscious, constant struggle for tenure for women and people of color. I don't know if I am strong enough to go through all that. I'm questioning the whole process of higher education. I used to be really involved in community work and now I have no time [because of my academic studies] and that really bothers me. I'm getting married next year. What am I willing to compromise?" (third-generation Chinese American)

Affirmative Action

Asian Pacific Americans are a heterogeneous population with different views about affirmative action, but most support it or similar remedies to eliminate inequities, especially their access to education. In 1996, they voted overwhelmingly against Proposition 209, a California initiative to eliminate the use of race, ethnicity or gender in admissions, hiring, and contracts in the state.¹⁰⁹ APA students also generally support affirmative action, again for many reasons. After reflecting on their own life experiences and family struggles, many conclude that measures are still needed to alleviate historic dis-

crimination and ensure access and opportunities for the disadvantaged. Those from higher socio-economic backgrounds and the most assimilated tend to be concerned about the "practice" of affirmative action and favor the elimination of abuses as well. Most importantly, APAs oppose being inaccurately depicted as a "model minority" and used against other minority groups to eliminate affirmative action.¹¹⁰

Most APA women interviewed spoke strongly about the need for affirmative action or comparable programs and expected to be included in such programs. Some are uncomfortable with being identified as a member of a minority group because of the fear of being stigmatized. On the other hand, some questioned campus and departmental policies and practices that took advantage of their presence in some circumstances, for example, in diversity reports, while excluding them in situations critical to their advancement, such as fellowships or key committee appointments. APAs argue that being treated as an "overrepresented" minority instead of an "underrepresented" minority is a sweeping and unsubstantiated generalization that hinders their progress in academe. It ignores inequalities within and among APA groups and by gender, restricts their access to fields of study and employment areas where they are underrepresented, and denies opportunities to economically disadvantaged APAs.¹¹¹

Conclusions

Asian Pacific American women are a complex and diverse population. They are highly visible as females and minority group members, but at the same time are rendered invisible on American campuses by widely accepted stereotypes and race, gender, class, and cultural biases held by the general society and the academy. The prejudice APA women experience as students, faculty, professional staff, and administrators may include overt discrimination, but it is often subtle, taking the form, for example, of cultural insensitivity. Their voices throughout this report eloquently report the socio-cultural and class alienation of Asian Pacific American women in the academy, the depreciation and silencing of their concerns, and the lack of recognition and support for their academic and professional endeavors. They are also concerned about the institutional resistance to APA issues that are documented in research and campus diversity reports as well as student demands.

To bring attention to the "everyday inequities" APA women encounter in higher education, this study has focused on racial and gender stereotypes and biases, especially the small behaviors and informal practices of even well-intentioned individuals. Formal and informal policies, practices, and programs often exclude, mar-

ginalize, or silence APA women in the curriculum, classroom, co-curricular events, advisement, mentoring, research, fellowship, employment opportunities, and other areas. Taken altogether, APA women, and APA men as well, find an unsupportive and sometimes hostile campus climate that limits their academic, personal, and professional development. By contrast, a hospitable climate can encourage their recruitment, retention, and advancement.

Asian Pacific American women find both opportunities and barriers in academe. Although the numbers of bachelor's and first-professional degrees awarded to them have increased significantly over the past decade, APA women are far from being a complete "success story" as seen in their modest representation as doctorates, faculty, and high level professional staff and academic administrators. Equally important to the numbers of APA women at all levels is the *quality* of their experiences in U.S. colleges and universities. The situation of Asian Pacific American women in academe challenges the notion that access to higher education alone defines equity. Indeed, educators have begun to interpret access more broadly to include access *through* the institution and access *from* the institution into a diverse national and global society.¹¹² Hence the treatment of APA women and men *within* higher education serves as a case study illuminating inequities through and from as well as to academe requiring the attention of all educators concerned with access and equity.

Asian Pacific American women seek to participate fully and to feel welcomed and integrated in academic institutions. They often bring new and different theoretical perspectives, life experiences, curriculum, research interests, and ways of being, thinking, and doing to colleges and universities. They also serve as mentors and role models. Asian Pacific American women, like white women, people of color generally, and other marginalized groups, have a role to play in the creation of a higher education system that is fair, equitable, and intellectually robust. Academic institutions, in turn, need to address their overall campus climate, structural organizations, policies, and practices and transform themselves in light of new constituencies and a new understanding of how integral diversity is to academic excellence.

NOTES

1. Dorothy Rony, "Confronting Intolerance on a Personal Level," *The Asian-American Journal at Yale* 3:1 (1985), 27.

Introduction

2. Staff in this report refers to those in professional positions, such as student support services, budget and technical areas, and the library. This study does not specifically address APA women in secretarial, custodial, and similar positions.
3. Shirley Hune, "Higher Education as Gendered Space: Asian American Women and Everyday Inequities," *Everyday Sexism in the Third Millennium*, eds. Carol Rambo Ronai, Barbara A. Zsembik, and Joe R. Feagin (New York: Routledge, 1997), 181-96; Yolanda T. Moses, *Black Women in Academia: Issues and Strategies* (Washington, DC: AAC&U/PSEW, 1989); Sarah Nieves-Squires, *Hispanic Women: Making Their Presence on Campus Less Tenuous* (Washington, DC: AAC&U/PSEW, 1991); and Mary Romero, "Class-Based, Gendered and Racialized Institutions of Higher Education: Everyday Life of Academia From the View of Chicana Faculty," *Race, Gender & Class* 4:2 (1997): 151-173.
4. Barbara Brown Packer, "Irrigating the Sacred Grove: Stages of Gender Equity Development," *Feminist Academic: Creative Agents for Change*, eds. Louise Morley and Val Walsh (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995), 43.
5. The notion of classrooms and campuses being "chilly" or inhospitable climates that disadvantage women and also affects men is developed in a number of works by Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler published by AAC&U's Program on the Status and Education of Women. See, Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*, 1982; Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?*, 1984; and Bernice R. Sandler and Roberta M. Hall, *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students*, 1986.
6. Key diversity and campus climate studies include, A. W. Astin, J. G. Trevino, and T. L. Wingard, *The UCLA Campus Climate for Diversity* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA, 1991); *Asian Americans at Berkeley: A Report to the Chancellor* (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Advisory Committee on Asian American Affairs, The University of California, Berkeley, May 1989); *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report* (College Park: University of Maryland, College Park, 1995); *Asian Pacific Americans in the CSU: A Follow-up Report* (Long Beach, CA: Asian Pacific American Education Advisory Committee, Office of the Chancellor, The California State University, August 1994); *CUNY and Asian Americans to the Year 2000: An Asian American*

Perspective (New York: Asian American Higher Education Council, 1990); *The Diversity Project: Final Report* (Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, Berkeley, November 1991); *Enriching California's Future: Asian Pacific Americans in the CSU* (Long Beach, CA: Asian Pacific American Education Advisory Committee, Office of the Chancellor, The California State University, November 1990); and Peter C. Y. Leung, *Asian Pacific American Faculty and Staff at Davis* (Davis, CA: University of California, Davis, October 1989).

7. "Everyday inequities" is drawn from Hall and Sandler, 1984, 16.

Part I: An Overview of Asian Pacific Americans Who Are Asian Pacific Americans?

8. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne, 1991) and Ronald Takaki, *Sons and Daughters from a Different Shore* (New York: Penguin, 1989).
9. Shirley Hune and Kenyon S. Chan, "Special Focus: Asian Pacific American Demographic and Educational Trends," *Fifteenth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education*, eds. Deborah J. Carter and Reginald Wilson (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1997), 41-42.
10. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *We the American Pacific Islanders* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, September 1993).
11. Humani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993).
12. For a fuller discussion of APA demographic characteristics and socio-economic trends, see Hune and Chan, 1997, 46-50.

Race Matters

13. Immigration scholars as well as ethnic communities view generation as a marker of socialization and acculturation in American society. If known, generation will be indicated in the report. Immigrant or first generation are used interchangeably in this study. Refugees are also first generation. Newcomers are used here to include both recent immigrants and refugees. The American-born may be second-, third-, or fourth-generation APA and beyond.
14. Unless cited otherwise quotations in this paper are of APA women in higher education drawn from focus group or individual interviews conducted by the author. Given the small numbers of APA women in some academic disciplines and in administration, on occasion, I

- have altered the identifying characteristics of those who participated to provide them with confidentiality.
15. Anh-Dao Nguyen, "Leaving Home," *Becoming American, Becoming Ethnic*, ed. Thomas Dublin (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 204.
 16. Chan, 1989.
 17. Keith Osajima, "Asian Americans as the Model Minority: An Analysis of the Popular Press Image in the 1960's and 1980's," *Reflections on Shattered Windows*, eds. Gary Okihito, Shirley Hune, Arthur Hansen and John Liu (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1988), 165-74.
 18. Studies include chapters in *The Asian American Educational Experience*, eds. Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (New York: Routledge, 1995) and Hune and Chan, 1997. On high school students, see Stacey J. Lee, *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996) and Wendy Walker-Moffat, *The Other Side of the Asian American Success Story* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995). Deborah Woo examines employment limitations for APAs in *The Glass Ceiling and Asian Americans* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Glass Ceiling Commission, 1994).
 19. Hien Duc Do, "The New Outsiders: Vietnamese American Students in Higher Education," *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies*, eds. Gary Y. Okihito, Marilyn Alquizola, Dorothy Fujita Rony, and R. Scott Wong (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), 421-38; Lee, 1996; and Stanley Sue and Sumie Okazaki, "Asian-American Educational Achievements: A Phenomenon in Search of an Explanation," *American Psychologist* 45:8 (1990):913-20. See also Hune and Chan, 1997, 44-46.
 20. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992) and U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Recent Activities against Citizens and Residents of Asian Descent* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986). On higher education admissions, see Dina Y. Takagi, *The Retreat from Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992) and Deborah Woo, "The 'Overrepresentation' of Asian Americans: Red Herrings and Yellow Perils," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 15:2 (May 1990), 9-36.
 21. *1995 Audit of Violence Against Asian Pacific Americans* (Washington, DC: National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, 1996), 1.
 22. Asian Americans at Berkeley, 1989, 8.
 23. Cited in Charlotte Bruce Harvey, "To Be Asian-American," *Brown Alumni Monthly* (November 1989), 26.
 24. Asian Americans at Berkeley, 1989, 22 and Keith Hiroshi Osajima, "Breaking the Silence: Race and the Educational Experiences of Asian American College Students," *Readings on Equal Education*, ed. Michele Foster (New York: AMS Press, 1991), 124.
 25. 1995 *Audit of Violence*, 1996, 16.
 26. "Students Rally Against Racial Incident," *The Daily Illini*, October 30, 1996.
 27. "Trial of Ex-student Accused in Hate E-Mail Case Begins," *Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 1997; and "Asian-American Group Receives Third Hate E-Mail," *Indiana Daily Student*, February 18, 1997.

APA Families and Women's Education

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29. Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997) and Shirley Hune, *Teaching Asian American Women's History* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1997).
30. Peter N. Kiang, "Persistence Stories and Survival Strategies of Cambodian Americans in College," *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 6:1 (1996): 39-64 and Stacey J. Lee, "School Dreams and Other Concerns: Understanding School Achievement Among Cambodian and Hmong Teenage Girls," unpublished document.
31. Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston III, "Social Capital and the Adaptation of the Second Generation: The Case of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans," *The New Second Generation*, ed. Alejandro Portes, 157-220. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996).
32. Nancy D. Donnelly, *Changing Lives of Refugee Hmong Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994); Margaret A. Gibson, *Accommodation Without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Nazi Kibria, *Family Tightrope: The Changing Lives of Vietnamese Americans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); and Lee, "School Dreams."
33. Stacey J. Lee, "The Road to College: Hmong Women's Pursuit of Higher Education," *Harvard Education Review* 67:4 (1997).
34. Rosalind Y. Mai, "Barriers to Higher Education for Asian/Pacific-American Females," *The Urban Review* 32:1 (1990): 183-197.
35. Hune and Chan, 1997, 54.
36. Paul R. Brandon, "Gender Differences in Young Asian Americans' Educational Attainments," *Sex Roles* 25:1/2 (1991): 45-61.

Part II: Stereotypes, Biases, and Obstacles The Harm of the "Model Minority" Stereotype

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58. See note 6, *supra*.
59. *Asian Americans at Berkeley*, 1989, 22.
60. Audrey Yamagata-Noji, "Asian Pacific American Student Services: Exploding the Model Minority Myth," *Affirmative Action and Discrimination: Asian and Pacific Americans in Higher Education* (Sacramento: Asian and Pacific Americans in Higher Education, 1996), 69-72.
61. Keith Osojima, "The Hidden Injuries of Race," *Bearing Dreams, Shaping Visions*, eds. Linda A. Revilla, Gail M. Nomura, Shawn Wong, and Shirley Hune (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1993), 81-91.
62. Osojima, 1991 and David T. Tan, "Uniqueness of the Asian-American Experience in Higher Education," *College Student Journal* 28:4 (December 1994): 412-421.
63. Kiung, 1996, 46-47.
64. *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report*, 1995, 57 and Leung, 1989, 22.

The "Exotic" or "Passive" Asian and Other Harmful Stereotypes

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66. Renee E. Tajima, "Lotus Blossoms Don't Bleed: Images of Asian Women," *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women*, ed. Asian Women United of California (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 308-317 and Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the 'Yellow Peril': Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
67. Edith Wen-Chu Chen, "Sexual Harassment from the Perspective of Asian-American Women," *Everyday Sexism in the Third Millennium*, eds. Carol Rambo Ronai, Barbara A. Zsembik, and Joe R. Feagin (New York: Routledge, 1997), 51-62.
68. *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report*, 1995.

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69. Aida Hurtado, "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Color," *Signs* 14:4 (1989): 833-855.
70. Sumi K. Cho, "Converging Stereotypes in Racialized Sexual Harassment: Where the Model

Minority Meets Suzie Wong," *Critical Race Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Adrian Katherine Wing (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 204.

51. Susan K. Hippenssteel and Mela Chesney-Lind, "Race and Sex Discrimination in the Academy," *Thought & Action* 11:2 (Fall 1995), 50-52.
52. Sumi K. Cho, "Confronting the Myths: Asian Pacific American Faculty in Higher Education," *Affirmative Action and Discrimination: Asian and Pacific Americans in Higher Education* (Sacramento, CA: Asian Pacific Americans in Higher Education, 1996), 35-42. APA men also confront tenure battles. See Dale Minami, "Guerrilla War at UCLA: Political and Legal Dimensions of the Tenure Battle," *Amerasia Journal* 16 (1990): 81-107.
53. Cho, 1997, 207.
54. On two notable cases, Rosalie Tung and Jean Jew, see Cho, 1997. See also Annette Kolodny, "Paying the Price of Antifeminist Intellectual Harassment," *Antifeminism in the Academy*, eds. V&V Clark, Shirley Nelson Garner, Margaret Higonnet, and Rita H. Kirsch (New York: Routledge, 1996), 5-33.
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57. Shirley Hune, "Rethinking Race: Paradigms and Policy Formation," *Amerasia Journal* 21:1&2 (1995): 29-40 and Keith Osojima, "Racial Politics and the Invisibility of Asian Americans in Higher Education," *Educational Foundations* 9:1 (Winter 1995): 35-53.
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Being First-Generation and Working-Class

59. Essays in *Working-Class Women in the Academy: Laborers in the Knowledge Factory*, eds. Michelle M. Tokarczyk and Elizabeth A. Fay (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993) illuminate anti-working class biases in higher education institutions.

60. David Morse, "Prejudicial Studies: One Astonishing Lesson for the University of Connecticut," *The Asian American Educational Experience*, eds. Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (New York: Routledge, 1995), 339.
61. Do, 1995; Kiang, 1996; and Kelly Nishimura, "From Honolulu to New York City," *Change* (November/December 1989), 34.
62. Jenny Le (Phuong Thuy Nhu Le), "Learning English, Learning in English," *Change* (November/December 1989), 35.
63. Kiang, 1996, 44-46.

Limited English Proficiency, Language Bias, and Accent Discrimination

64. See note 6, *supra*. My interviews support the findings in note 6.
65. Shirley Geok-lin Lim, *Among the White Man's Feet: An Asian American Memoir of Home* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1996), 221.
66. Frank, 1993, 213.
67. *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report*, 1995, 51-2. See also Susan Katz Miller, "Asian-Americans Bump Against Glass Ceilings," *Science* 258:13 (November 1992): 1224-8.

Communication and Leadership Styles

68. *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report*, 1995, 52 and Leung, 1989, 22. My interviews support these findings.
69. "Asian Pacific Americans in Higher Education: Dilemma and Resolution" Session, Conference on Educating One-Third of a Nation VI: Diversity, Opportunity, and American Achievement sponsored by the American Council on Education and its Office of Minorities in Higher Education in collaboration with the Association of American Colleges and Universities and The Ford Foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative, Miami, October 17, 1997.

Part III: Asian Pacific American Women and the Academy

70. S. B. Woo, 1997, 7.

The Academic Pipeline

71. Data in this subsection is drawn from Hune and Chan, 1997, 52-54 and 107 and Deborah J. Carter and Reginald Wilson, *Fifteenth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1997), 88, 92, 94, 98, and 102. See these two works for a fuller discussion.

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73. Deborah J. Carter and Eileen M. O'Brien, *Employment and Hiring Patterns for Faculty of Color* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education Research Briefs) 46 (1993), 1.
74. Linda J. Zimbler, *Faculty and Instructional Staff: Who are They and What Do They Do?* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, NCES 94-346, 1994), 7, 14-15.
75. Cheryl G. Smith with Lisa E. Wolf and Bonnie E. Rosenberg, *Achieving Faculty Diversity: Debunking the Myths* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities, 1996), 157.
76. Carter and Wilson, 1997, 102. While the ACE report indicated 2 APA women CEOs in 1996, a third was added later. They are Bernadine Fong, President, Foothill College, Rose Fong, Chancellor, West Valley Mission Community College District, and Evelyn Wong, President, West Los Angeles College, all in California.

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80. Sandler and Hall, 1986, 13.
81. Monica Chiu, "It's an Asian Thing, You Must Try to Understand," *Gathering of Voices on the Asian American Experience*, eds. Annette White-Parks, et al. (Fort Atkinson, WI: Highsmith Press, 1994), 140.

Racial and Ethnic Identity Issues

82. *Asian Americans at Berkeley*, 1989, 23.
83. Sang-Hoon Kim, "Discovering My Ethnic Roots," *Becoming American, Becoming Ethnic*, ed. Thomas Dublin (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 147.

84. *Asian Americans at Berkeley*, 1989, 23-24. See also, Deborah Woo, "Asian Americans in Higher Education: Issues of Diversity and Engagement," *Race, Gender & Class* 4:3 (1997): 122-143.
85. Oajima, 1993.

The Campus Climate

86. Angela B. Ginoris, *Warming the Climate for Women in Academic Science*, (Washington, DC: AAC&U/PSEW, 1995), 2.
87. See note 6, *supra*. See also Sucheng Chan and Ling-Chi Wang, "Racism and the Model Minority: Asian-Americans in Higher Education," *The Racial Crisis in Higher Education*, eds. Philip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomuroy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 43-67, and Gabriel G. Marinique and Cecilia G. Marinique, "Asian American Faculty in U.S. Colleges and Universities," *Gathering of Voices on the Asian American Experience*, eds. Annette White-Parks, et al. (Port Arkins, WI: Highsmith Press), 151-161.
88. See note 6, *supra*.
89. Hune, "Higher Education," 1997, and Sandler and Hall, 1986, especially 12-14.
90. Hune, "Higher Education," 1997; Packer, 1995; Sandler and Hall, 1986; and Swoboda, 1990.
91. Amy Ling, "I'm Here: An Asian American Woman's Response," *New Literary History* 19:1 (1987), 158.
92. *Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report*, 1995 and Leung, 1989, 22-25 and 36.
93. "Asian Pacific Americans in Higher Education: Emblematic and Resolution" conference session, 1997.

Classroom Climate

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95. Le, 1989, 35.
96. Geraldine E. Kosasa-Terry, "Localizing Discourse," *New Visions in Asian American Studies*, eds. Franklin Ng, Judy Yung, Stephen S. Fugita, and Elaine H. Kim. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1994), 211-221; Oajima, 1991; and Trask, 1993.
97. Hall and Sandler, 1982, 10.
98. Hune, "Higher Education," 1997, 191, and Sandler and Hall, 1986, 15.
99. K. Benson, "Comment on Crocker's 'An Analysis of University Definitions of Sexual Harassment,'" *Signs* 9 (1984): 516-19. See also Elizabeth Grauerholz, "Sexual Harassment of Women Professors by Students: Exploring the Dynamics of Power, Authority, and Gender in a University Setting," *Sex Roles* 21:10/12 (1989): 700. I expand on this notion for female faculty of color by intersecting race and gender.
100. Eric Bauer with Katherine Rhoades, "The Meanings and Metaphors of Student Resistance," *Antifeminism*

in the Academy, eds. VêVê Clark, Shirley Nelson Gardner, Margaret Higonnet, and Ketu H. Kaurah (New York: Routledge, 1996), 95-113.

101. Lim, 1996, 214.
102. Cited in Swoboda, 1990, 5.

Asian American Studies and Other Curricular Issues

103. On ethnic studies, see Evelyn Iba-DeBlaet, "The History, Development, and Future of Ethnic Studies," *Phi Delta Kappan* 75:1 (September 1993): 50-54. On Asian American studies, see Shirley Hune, "Opening the American Mind and Body: The Role of Asian American Studies," *Change* (November/December 1989): 56-63.
104. Cited in Harvey, 1989, 26.

Advisement and Mentoring

105. Cited in Iba, 1995, 427.
106. Hune, "Higher Education," 1997; Hall and Sandler, 1982; and Sandler and Hall, 1986.

Balancing Work, Family, and Community

107. Personal interview with Asian American female faculty member, 1997.
108. Sander and Hall, 1986, 5-6; and Swoboda, 1990, 14-16.

Affirmative Action

109. APAs strongly opposed Proposition 209, a controversial and widely debated California ballot initiative to eliminate affirmative action in public employment, public education, and public contracting in the state. It narrowly passed in November 1996 and went into effect in August 1997. There was a bipartisan vote, 61 percent against the measure statewide and 76 percent against it in the four Southern California county areas with the largest numbers of APAs. "Affirmative Action: Controversy in California," *UCLA Cruxcurrents* 19:2 (Fall/Winter 1996).
110. *The Diversity Project*, 1991, 26-27.
111. *Asian Americans at Berkeley*, 1989, 20 and 30.

Conclusions

112. See draft report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Access, Council on Academic Affairs/National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (CAA/NASULGC, Advice to the Kellogg Commission, September, 1997).

SELECTED READINGS

Asian Pacific Americans remain a largely neglected and misunderstood group in the United States. A selected annotated bibliography is offered below as an introduction to new scholarship in history and the social sciences on Asian Pacific Americans and APA women in general, and APA women in education, specifically. These works center APAs in research and writings, view Asian Pacific American women as subjects, and articulate their educational concerns through APA voices. Other works can be found in the endnotes of *Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education*.

"Asian and Pacific Americans: Behind the Myths." *Change*. November/December, 1989.

In this special issue, leading Asian American scholars discuss issues affecting APAs and higher education. Articles cover the "model minority" myth, demographics, student voices, the admissions debate, barriers facing faculty, the arts, and Asian American studies.

Asian Women United of California, ed. *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings By and About Asian American Women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

This collection of essays, articles, poems, and short stories covers APA women from different ethnic and class backgrounds and includes topics on immigration, war, work, identity, injustice, and activism.

Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991.

Chan provides a comprehensive history and analysis of Asian Americans in the U.S. from the mid nineteenth century to the present.

Cho, Sumi. "Converging Stereotypes in Racialized Sexual Harassment: Where the Model Minority Meets Suzie Wong." *Critical Race Feminism*, ed. Adrien Katherine Wing, 203-22. New York: New York University Press, 1997.

Cho examines the nature, development, and effects of converging racial and sexual stereotypes on Asian American women in the workplace and provides case studies of the sexual harassment of two Asian American female faculty.

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws and Love*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997.

Espiritu considers how relations between Asian American women and men, their work lives, and stereotypes have been shaped by race, gender, and class hierarchies in the U.S. from the 1830s to the present.

Fiol-Matta, Liza and Mariam K. Chamberlain, eds. *Women of Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom*. New York: The Feminist Press, 1994.

This anthology provides faculty and administrators with a guide to transforming undergraduate curricula with respect to women of color. It includes essays on faculty development and exemplary course syllabi.

Hune, Shirley. "Higher Education as Gendered Space: Asian American Women and Everyday Inequities." *Everyday Sexism in the Third Millennium*, eds. Carol Rambo Ronai, Barbara A. Zsembik, and Joe Feagin, 181-96. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Hune presents a theoretical framework for analyzing the status of Asian American women in higher education. Gender and race are seen as spaces of difference that contribute to institutional impediments experienced by Asian American women.

Hune, Shirley. *Teaching Asian American Women's History*. Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1997.

Hune assesses the significance of Asian American women in U.S. history with an exploration of historiography, various interpretations, and themes of family, work, and community. She includes a thorough review of historical literature in a bibliographic essay as well as teaching strategies.

Hune, Shirley and Kenyon S. Chan. "Asian Pacific American Demographic and Educational Trends." *Fifteenth Annual Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education*, eds. Deborah Carter and Reginald Wilson. Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1997.

Hune and Chan provide a comprehensive report and statistical data on Asian Pacific Americans in higher education that includes an historical overview of APAs, an analysis of demographic and educational trends, a discussion of institutional opportunities and barriers, and recommendations for colleges and universities.

Kiang, Peter Nien-chu. "Bicultural Strengths and Struggles of Southeast Asian Americans in School." *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States*, ed. Antonia Darder. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1995.

Based upon in-depth interviews, Kiang captures the efforts of Southeast Asian American students to survive the challenges of schooling through their use of bicultural experiences.

Kiang, Peter Nien-chu. "Persistence Stories and Survival Strategies of Cambodian Americans in College." *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 6 (1996): 39-64.

Through the voices of Cambodian American college students, Kiang analyzes their distinct struggles by examining

factors that contribute to their isolation as well as their persistence in college.

Kim, Elaine H., Lilia V. Villanueva, and Asian Women United of California, eds. *Making More Waves: New Writing by Asian American Women*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.

The sequel to the groundbreaking *Making Waves* (1989), this anthology features essays, articles, poems, and art by and about Asian American women.

Lee, Stacey J. "The Road to College: Hmong Women's Pursuit of Higher Education." *Harvard Education Review* 67:4 (1997).

Lee examines how cultural, economic, and racial factors affect Hmong American women's pursuit of higher education.

Lee, Stacey J. *Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1996.

Lee considers how the "model minority" stereotype promotes a kind of invisibility of Asian American youth. In an ethnographic study at an east coast urban high school, she explores how distinct self-defined student identity groups contribute to different educational outcomes.

Mau, Rosalind. "Barriers to Higher Education for Asian/Pacific American Females." *The Urban Review*, 22:3 (1990).

Based upon public school records, questionnaires, and life-history narratives of Hawaiian, Filipino, and Samoan-American public high school girls in Hawaii, Mau discusses the cultural conflicts between home and school that limit their pursuit of higher education.

Nakanishi, Don and Tina Yamano Nishida, eds. *The Asian American Educational Experience: A Source Book for Teachers and Students*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

In this reader, leading experts contribute historical analyses, theoretical perspectives, and case studies on Asian American education from elementary school through higher education. It also includes a comprehensive bibliography on Asian American educational research.

Osajima, Keith Hiroshi. "Breaking the Silence: Race and the Educational Experiences of Asian American College Students." *Readings on Equal Education*, ed. Michele Foster, 115-134. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1991.

Osajima critiques the "model minority myth" and illustrates through students' voices the continuing struggles, tensions, and conflicts faced by Asian American undergraduates.

Osajima, Keith Hiroshi. "Racial Politics and the Invisibility of Asian Americans in Higher Education." *Educational Foundations* 9:1 (Winter, 1995): 35-53.

Using focus group interviews, Osajima documents the absence or exclusion of Asian Americans from the curricular and academic structures of higher education.

Ruiz, Vicki L. and Ellen Carol DuBois, eds. *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1994.

This reader has several chapters on Asian American women's history and a bibliography on Asian American women compiled by Brian Niiya.

Shah, Sonia, ed. *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1997.

Prominent writers, artists, and community activists document the emerging Asian American feminist movement through analyses of immigration, work, health, domestic violence, sexuality, the media and other issues.

Takagi, Dana. *The Retreat from Race: Asian-American Admissions and Racial Politics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Focusing on the admissions debate at leading public and private universities during the 1980s, Takagi details how conservatives' and liberals' differing depictions of Asian Americans changed the political discourse on race, eventually leading to the shift in affirmative action policies from racial preferences to class preferences.

Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. New York: Penguin Books, 1989.

Takaki weaves together stories and voices of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Indian, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian Americans in the telling of Asian American history from the mid nineteenth century to the present.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s*. Washington, DC: United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1992.

This report covers a range of civil rights issues affecting Asian Americans, including hate crimes, employment discrimination, political representation, and domestic violence. Of particular interest are chapter 5, "Access to Educational Opportunity: Higher Education," and a subsection on "Racial Harassment on College Campuses," pp. 41-44.

The Women of South Asian Descent Collective, ed. *Our Feet Walk the Sky*. San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1993.

This collection of critical essays, creative writings, and personal histories of South Asian American and South Asian immigrant women in the U.S. situates their lives

within their communities and within interethnic, national, and global frameworks.

Woo, Deborah. "Asian Americans in Higher Education: Issues of Diversity and Engagement." *Race, Gender & Class* 4.3 (1997): 122-143.

Woo examines how Asian American students experience and view their own participation at one of the nation's most ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse campuses.

Woo, Deborah. *The Glass Ceiling and Asian Americans: A Research Monograph*. Washington, DC: US Department of Labor, Glass Ceiling Commission, 1994.

In a thorough examination of the occupational profile, educational attainment, and current research on Asian Americans, Woo highlights the occupational barriers that Asian Americans face as professionals in the corporate sector.

Zhou, Min and Carl L. Bankston III. "Social Capital and the Adaptation of the Second Generation: The Case of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans." *The New Second Generation*, ed. Alejandro Portes, 197-220. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.

In a case study of a working-class Vietnamese community in New Orleans, Zhou and Bankston find that close ties to family, the Catholic church, and community are an ethnic resource and contribute to a youth culture channeled toward schooling and work.

DOCUMENTARIES

Shattering the Silences: The Case for Minority Faculty. 1997. Producer: Gail Pellert Productions, Inc. Distributor: California Newsreel.

In this 90 minute documentary, Asian American, African American, Native American, and Latina/o faculty share their stories, struggles, and contributions as professors of color in academic institutions.

Skin Deep. 1995. Producer/Director: Frances Reid. Distributor: California Newsreel.

Following students from the University of Massachusetts, Texas A&M, Chico State, and the University of California, Berkeley who participated in a racial awareness retreat, this 53 minute video examines a diverse group of college students as they explore their prejudices, reveal their struggles, and try to understand each other.

Women of Color in Higher Education: Too Invisible, Too Silent for Too Long. 1999. Producers: William E. Cox and Frank L. Mathews. Distributors: Cox, Mathews and Associates.

In this two hour panel discussion, African American, Latina, Asian American, and Native American women representing a range of academic institutions discuss the many challenges experienced by women of color in higher education and the implications for educational policy.

OTHER RESOURCES

Selected Listservs

Association for Asian American Studies:
AAASPosts@listlink.berkeley.edu

East of California:
EOCfac@gru.edu

Women's Studies Listserv:
Listserv@umhd.umd.edu

Selected Websites

Association for Asian American Studies:
<http://www.aasp.cornell.edu/aasp/aaa/index.html>

UCLA Asian American Studies Center:
<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/>

Women's Studies Listserv Files:
<http://www.inform.umd.edu/EdRes/Topic/WomensStudies/>

WOMEN OF COLOR IN THE ACADEMY SERIES

Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education

By Shirley Hune
38 pages (\$7/ASIAN)

Black Women in Academia: Issues and Strategies

By Yolanda T. Moses
28 pages (\$5/BLACK)

Hispanic Women: Making Their Presence on Campus Less Tenuous

By Sarah Nieves-Squires
16 pages (\$5/HSPA)

SELECTED ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

The following is a list of key organizations that serve Asian Pacific American women with particular attention to their educational and leadership development. This list is not complete and is intended to give an overview of potential resources.

Asia and Asian American Section of the American Sociological Association

c/o American Sociological Association
1722 N Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036-2981
(202) 833-3410, ext. 322

The Section promotes and recognizes research, scholarship, and professional development on Asia and Asian Americans. It publishes a quarterly newsletter and gives out a book award.

Asian and Pacific Americans in Higher Education

c/o UCLA Asian American Studies Center
3230 Campbell Hall
Box 951546
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1546
(310) 825-2974

A California based organization, APAHE seeks to enhance educational opportunities for Asian Pacific American students, promote the recruitment, hiring, and tenuring of qualified APA faculty, staff and executives, and create a better understanding of public issues affecting APAs in higher education. It holds an annual Spring conference and publishes a newsletter.

Asian Pacific American Women's Leadership Institute

1921 Ivy Street
Denver, CO 80220
(303) 399-8899

APAWLI seeks to nurture and develop Asian and Pacific American women's leadership skills and advance issues and legislation supported by APA women and their communities. It offers a fellowship program and holds an annual conference.

Association for Asian American Studies

c/o Asian American Studies Program
Cornell University
420 Rockefeller Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853
(607) 255-3320

AAAS is the national professional association for the advancement of Asian American Studies. It promotes excellence in teaching and research in Asian American Studies, publishes a newsletter and a *Journal for Asian American Studies*, gives book awards, sponsors an annual conference

and regional meetings, advocates and represents the interests and welfare of APA students, faculty, and programs through advice and letters of support, and serves as a resource to educate American society about Asian Americans.

Chinese Historical Society of America

650 Commercial Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 391-1188

The first Chinese historical society in North America, the Society maintains artifacts, displays items, and issues public papers relating to the history of the Chinese living in the United States. It also maintains a museum and publishes an annual journal and a newsletter.

Filipino American National Historical Society

810 18th Ave.
Suite 201
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 322-0203

FANHIS' mission is to promote understanding, education, appreciation, and enrichment through the identification, gathering, preservation, and dissemination of the history and culture of Filipino Americans in the United States. FANHIS maintains an archival collection, holds public forums, provides research assistance, and publishes a quarterly newsletter.

Japanese American National Museum

369 East First Street
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 625-0414

The Museum preserves and shares the Japanese American experience within the context of America's rich multicultural heritage through exhibitions, research, education, collections, and a wide range of public programs and activities.

Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics

327 E. Second Street, #226
Los Angeles, CA 90012
(213) 485-1422

LEAP is a national community based organization committed to developing and expanding the leadership roles of Asian Pacific Americans in all sectors of American society. It has established institutes for leadership management, public policy, and community development and published books and reports on policy issues that affect APAs.

National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum

310 Eighth Street #100
Oakland, CA 94607
San Francisco, Ca 94102
(510) 268-9184

NAPAWF is dedicated to forging a progressive grassroots movement for social and economic justice and the political empowerment of Asian and Pacific women and girls.

National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education

c/o ARC Associates
1212 Broadway, #400
Oakland, CA 94612
(510) 834-9455

NAAPAE advances the educational needs of Asian Pacific Americans through advocating educational programs and policies, promoting the inclusion of APAs in school curriculum, maintaining a network of educators and community people, encouraging research on APA educational issues, and promoting the participation of educators familiar with APA concerns in educational roles. It sponsors an annual conference, has a college scholarship program, and publishes a quarterly newsletter, a resource guide, and anthologies series.

National Association of Professional Asian American Women

PO Box 494
Washington Grove, MD 20880
(301) 443-4447

NAPAW seeks to promote the social status of Asian American professional women, enhance their leadership skills, development, and occupational and business opportunities, strengthen their visibility in public decision-making positions, and stimulate and implement research and demonstration projects which will enhance the knowledge and understanding of Asian American women.

National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women

Institute for Teaching and Research on Women
Towson State University
Baltimore, MD 21204-7097
(410) 830-3944

The National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women provides a centralized source of information on transforming the content and pedagogy of classrooms to incorporate scholarship on women. Resources available include publications on getting started, using electronic media, fundraising, assessment, and transforming academic disciplines, as well as a directory contain-

ing descriptions of over 200 campus projects. These are not specific to, but are inclusive of, Asian American women.

National Korean American Service and Education Consortium

143-32 Ash Avenue, #1000
Flushing, NY 11355
(718) 445-3939

NAKASEC is a national organization for the enhancement of Korean American lives through educating the public on issues affecting Korean American communities, encouraging their political and civic participation, preserving Korean American cultural heritage, promoting dialogue and exchange with other communities across the nation, and providing social and community services.

New Jersey Project on Inclusive Scholarship, Curriculum and Teaching

William Paterson College
300 Pompton Road
Wayne, NJ 07470-2152
(973) 720-2296

The New Jersey Project was established in 1986 by the State of New Jersey as the country's first statewide, state-funded gender and multicultural scholarship and curriculum project. It has also been recognized for its national impact in curriculum transformation. Its various activities include a summer institute, conferences, publications, and sponsorship of the African, Latina, Asian, and Native American (ALANA) Network. These and the New Jersey Project's additional activities address all aspects of the learning experience, promote and support curriculum transformation and faculty/student development regarding issues of gender, race and ethnicity, class, culture, and sexuality.

Organization of Chinese American Women

4641 Montgomery Avenue, #208
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 907-3898

OCAW goals are to provide leadership and foster a positive image for Chinese American women, develop personal and professional development programs for Asian American women, and serve the community by promoting cultural diversity, equal rights and opportunities, and educational excellence. It has established women's support groups and publishes a quarterly newsletter.

AAC&U

Association
of American
Colleges and
Universities

Advancing
Liberal
Learning

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: CLAIMING VISIBILITY & VOICE

SHIRLEY HUNE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

**EXECUTIVE
SUMMARY**



The Program on the Status and Education of Women (PSEW)

As one of only two women's offices sponsored by a higher education office, the Program on the Status and Education of Women (PSEW) at the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) has offered national leadership on women in higher education for more than a quarter of century. Initiated and led for its first two decades by Dr. Bernice Sandler, PSEW made its mark by tracking new federal legislation, especially Title IX and Title VII, and analyzing its impact on higher education. It also produced a series of practical campus-based papers, coining the phrase "chilly climate" as one valuable way of understanding the educational environment experienced by women students, faculty, administrators, and staff.

Under the leadership of its second director, Dr. Caryn McTighe Musil, PSEW currently concentrates on three primary areas: improving the curriculum and campus climate to enhance learning about and for women; promoting women's leadership capacities and opportunities; and disseminating information about new research on women and gender. PSEW thus has sponsored publications on women's studies and student learning, the climate for women in academic science, and the current National Science Foundation curriculum project, "Women and Scientific Literacy: Building Two-Way Streets," between science departments and women's studies programs.

For more than two decades, PSEW has also published a quarterly newsletter, *On Campus with Women*. OCWW keeps readers in touch with innovative programming, new scholarship, the latest data on women in higher education, and resources for the campus and classroom. In 1996, PSEW launched its listserv, PSEWLEAD, designed for women administrators in the academy.

This current publication, *Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education: Claiming Visibility and Voice* by Shirley Hune, is the third in an important PSEW series on women of color in the academy. Hune's monograph is preceded by *Black Women in Academe* (1988) by Yolanda T. Moses and *Hispanic Women* (1991) by Sarah Nieves-Squires. All three publications were made possible by a grant from the Ford Foundation. Alison Bernstein, now the Foundation's vice-president of the Education, Media, Arts and Culture Programs, has exerted consistent and visionary leadership over the years as she has called on higher education's best traditions of scholarly inquiry, expanding access, and engagement with solving societal problems. She has been an influential voice in persuading others that women and an analysis of gender must be at the center of all three concerns.

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Shirley Hune is a Professor of Urban Planning in the School of Public Policy and Social Research at the University of California, Los Angeles. Currently, she is also Associate Dean for graduate programs in the Graduate Division at UCLA. She holds a Ph.D. in American civilization, and her research interests include Asian American women's history, race and ethnic relations, minorities and women in higher education, and international migration and human rights policy. She is a third-generation Asian Pacific American of Chinese descent.

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This project could not have been completed without the aid of others. I would first like to thank Edith Chen for her valuable role as a bibliographic researcher and for her assistance with focus group interviews. She shares authorship of the "Selected Readings" and "Selected Asian Pacific American Organizations" sections. Gloria Jabonete-Bouis, Bonnie Oh, and Donna Shavlik served on the PSEW Advisory Committee, guided the project in its earliest stage, and gave helpful comments on a previous draft. Colleagues Kenyon S. Chan, Keith Osajima, and Audrey Yamagata-Noji read earlier drafts. The monograph is greatly improved by their critical comments and additional resources. I especially want to thank Caryn McTighe Musil and Lee Harper for their enormous support throughout the entire project and for their help in bringing clarity to the study. I am most appreciative of the many Asian Pacific American women who agreed to be interviewed and shared their experiences with me. Finally, I would like to thank the Program on the Status and Education of Women at the Association of American Colleges and Universities for its institutional foresight and commitment in supporting this project.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION: CLAIMING VISIBILITY AND VOICE

Introduction

American citizens and residents who trace their ancestry to the Asian continent, subcontinent, and islands within the Pacific Rim, and who include indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, are one of the fastest growing and most diverse racial populations in academe. However, little attention has been paid to them, especially with respect to the status, experiences, and concerns of Asian Pacific American women. The research findings and recommendations in *Asian Pacific American Women in Higher Education: Claiming Visibility and Voice* highlight the complexities of this group in higher education.

The report uses the terms Asians, Asian Americans, and Asian Pacific Americans interchangeably. Hune argues that Asian Pacific Americans or (APAs) is more inclusive of Pacific groups, however, and better reflects the changes in the population since 1965.

The findings in the study contest a popular conception that Asian Pacific Americans in higher education, especially APA women, are a "model minority" and a racial "success story." APA women, and men as well, have yet to achieve parity with whites in access and accommodation in the academy. They experience frequent racial and gender discrimination, and their serious educational and professional issues are largely ignored. The study reveals how, treated as "outsiders" and "strangers," APA women are excluded or marginalized in organizational structures and programs. It also documents the multiple ways in which stereotypes and racial, gender, class, and cultural biases obscure APA women and their concerns and impede their academic, personal, and professional development. Highlighting "everyday inequities," the study reveals the small behaviors and informal practices of even well-intentioned individuals whom Asian Pacific American women encounter in colleges and universities.

This volume by Shirley Hune is the third in a series on the status of women of color in higher education in the United States. *Black Women in Academe: Issues and Strategies*, by Yolanda T. Moses, was published by AAC&U in 1989 and reissued in 1997. It was followed in 1991 by Sarah Nieves-Squires's *Hispanic Women: Making Their Presence on Campus Less Tenuous*. Shirley

Hune is a professor of urban planning in the School of Public Policy and Social Research and an associate dean in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Los Angeles. A third-generation APA of Chinese descent, she holds a Ph.D. in American civilization and has research interests in Asian American history, race and ethnic relations, minorities and women in higher education, and international migration and human rights policy.

The monograph is based on research studies, campus climate and diversity reports, focus group and individual interviews representing a range of colleges and universities, and the author's own participant observation in the academy over two decades. The study gives visibility to Asian Pacific American women and analyzes their experiences as undergraduates, graduate students, faculty, professional staff, and academic administrators. It also gives voice to APA women through quotations gathered through interviews, memoirs, and other studies.

Asian Pacific American Women and the Academy

APA women have demonstrated significant increases in bachelor's, master's, and first-professional degrees earned over the past decade, but continue to lag behind their male counterparts. They are underrepresented in many fields of study at all degree levels, in doctoral studies, as faculty, and at higher levels of academic

administration. APA female faculty generally occupy the junior ranks and have one of the lowest tenure rates in the academy. It may be that APA women are especially harmed by a chilly campus climate. Other findings include:

- APA women resent being treated as if they are both indistinguishable from one another and interchangeable. At all levels, they report being treated as if they are a "model minority" and a homogeneous group when APAs differ widely in their ethnic and class backgrounds as well as in academic abilities, research interests, and professional goals.
- Many APA women find an inhospitable campus climate. Students report being silenced in classrooms and other campus sites, excluded in the curriculum, and unsupported in advisement and mentoring. Those with accents fear being ridiculed or misunderstood. Graduate students are alienated by their small numbers. They experience classroom climates as competitive and intimidating.
- While attending college, many APA students are

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forced to confront their racial or ethnic identity for the first time—one of the “hidden injuries of racism”—whether it be at a predominantly white or racially diverse campus.

- Academic institutions tend to merge data on Asian international doctorates, most of whom will return to their countries of origin, and APA doctorates, who are domestic minorities. In doing so, the academy distorts the reality of APA U.S. doctoral production which remains modest. Combining Asian and APA faculty data also inflates the number of Asians and obscures the small APA faculty representation as well.

- APA female faculty often experience unwanted and unwarranted overattention as racial minority group representatives and may be treated as “tokens.” They find underattention as well, for example, in the devaluation of their research and teaching and in the dismissal of issues they deem important.

Confronting Difference

APA students value “new” scholarly areas, such as ethnic studies, women’s studies, and gay and lesbian studies, as intellectual and social spaces in an otherwise culturally alienating academic environment. They find higher education’s resistance to the establishment of Asian American studies courses and programs a negative element in campus climate.

- APA students often lack advisement and mentorship opportunities because they are believed to constitute a “model minority.” Students are often channeled into math and science, in the belief APAs are good in these fields, to the detriment of those who do poorly in these areas.

- APA female faculty find they are evaluated differently and lack a sense of community with their colleagues. Their expertise and authority is often contested in the classroom and in their departments. Their teaching, research, advisement, and service contributions to the academy are also devalued.

- APA professional staff cite invisibility and marginalization, contending with stereotypes, unfair work loads and evaluations, and slow career mobility among their concerns.

- APA female administrators suffer from both high visibility and invisibility because of their small numbers. Like faculty and staff, they experience stereotypes and race, gender, class, and cultural biases in their professional development and mobility.

- APAs reflecting on their own life experiences and family struggles conclude that affirmative action or comparable programs are still needed to alleviate discrimination and ensure access and opportunities. They expect to be included in such measures. They find that being treated as an “overrepresented” minority instead of an “underrepresented” minority is a sweeping and unsubstantiated generalization that ignores inequalities within and among APA groups and inequities by gender and fields of study and employment.

Stereotypes, Biases, and Obstacles

Broad societal influences shape the lives of Asian Pacific American women in the United States. Oftentimes, APA women are not seen as individuals, but in the context of stereotypes and biases.

The unquestioned acceptance of the “model minority” stereotype by educators as an accurate representation of Asian Pacific Americans contributes to their neglect in higher education.

- The “model minority” stereotype penalizes APA women by assuming that they do not need academic or professional guidance and supports. The “orientalization” of APA women through racialized sexual stereotypes like the “exotic/erotic” or “passive/ demure” images dis-

misses their academic and professional endeavors and presents them as permanent foreigners, sex objects, and subordinate workers.

- Majority-minority and minority-minority intergroup relations marginalize APAs. This is detrimental to their academic integration and advancement. Institutional policies and programs viewed through the dominant black/white paradigm leave APAs, who are neither black nor white, out of academic structures and other aspects of campus life because they may be viewed incorrectly as educationally advantaged and hence excluded from remedial programs, multicultural centers, and other activities.

- Class and cultural biases reinforce APA women as “outsiders” in the academy. Academic institutions advantage the middle-class and have yet to meet the needs of working class and first-generation APA college students who generally work to help support their families, commute to urban campuses, and have little time for co-curricular activities. Poorly taught and culturally insensitive ESL classes are also barriers for students seeking English language proficiency.

APA students often lack advisement and mentorship opportunities because they are believed to constitute a “model minority”

● APAs experience language and accent discrimination in American society. They find the academy privileges English spoken with European accents, but is intolerant of English spoken with Asian accents. APA students with accents feel they are regarded as less intelligent by faculty and classmates and are not called upon in class. Faculty, staff, and administrators also find their professional advancement hindered by language and accent biases that oftentimes are based on perceived, not actual, circumstances.

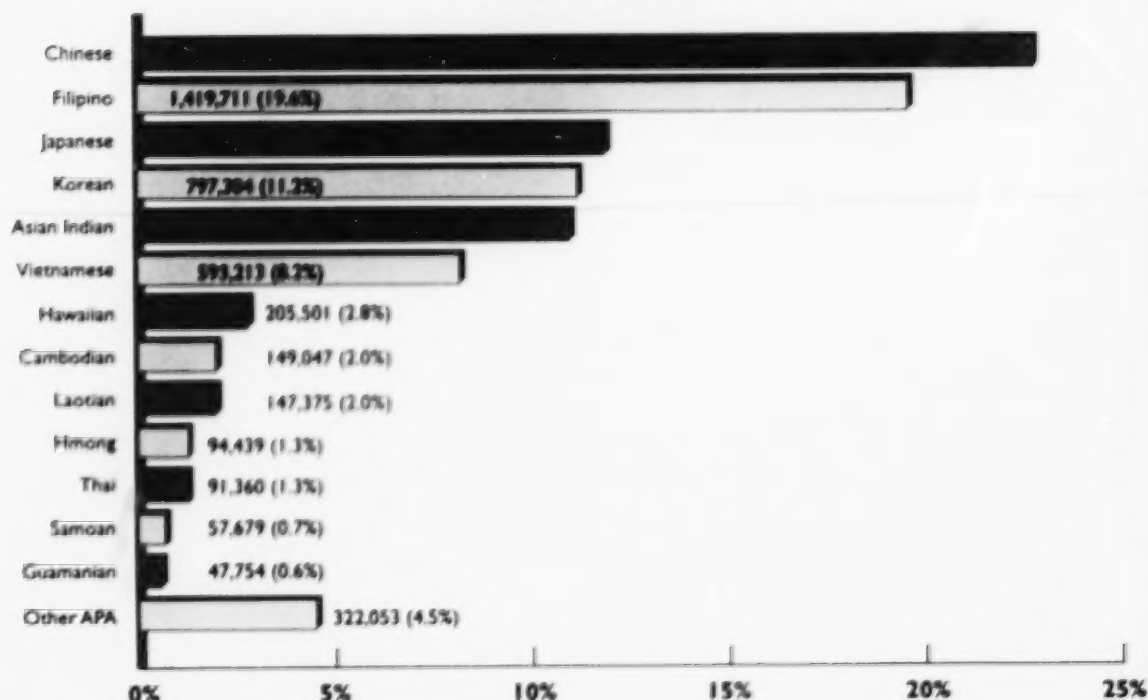
● Differences in values, communication skills, and leadership styles are frequently cited to explain why qualified APA women and men are underrepresented in academic administration, especially at the higher levels. APAs find the cultural differences explanation inadequate, especially for the American-born, and point to racial and gender discrimination as the primary reason.

In addition to insuring equal access to higher education, the study calls for academic institutions to broad-

en the definition of equity to include access through and access from institutions into a diverse national and global society. The Association of American Colleges and Universities and all who took part in producing this volume see it as valuable to both those administrators and faculty to whom the information is largely unfamiliar, and those already engaged in campus diversity work who will be introduced to an additional dimension. Recommendations are included to address the unequal treatment of APA women in academe and to support colleges and universities in providing a climate of access, equity, and inclusion for all. Not all will apply to all institutions at all times; some are at different stages of acknowledging the complex position of Asian Pacific American women in higher education. Administrators should consider modifying and adapting recommendations to suit institutional conditions and needs. We encourage opening and deepening conversations with Asian Pacific American women on campus, the better to grasp, and more effectively to address, their needs and concerns.

Asian Pacific Americans by Selected Ethnic Groups, 1990

All APAs (7,226,986)



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census of the Population, Social and Economic Characteristics (CP-2-1), 1993.

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